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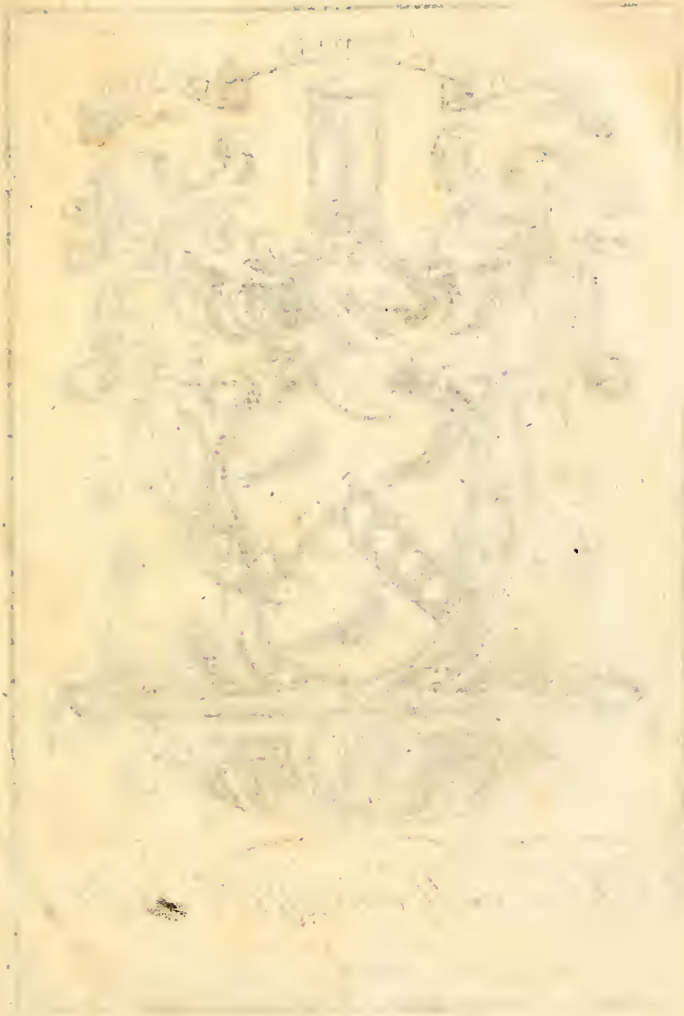

James Houstoun M.D.

1712.

THE

WORKS

OF

JAMES HOUSTOUN, M.D.

CONTAINING

Memoirs of his Life and Travels in ASIA, AFRICA, AMERICA, and moſt Parts of EUROPE. From the Year 1690, to the preſent Time.

Giving a particular Account of

The SCOTCH Expedition to DARIEN in AMERICA, the great Advantages accruing to GREAT BRITAIN from the Union; the Riſe, Progreſs, and Fall of the two great Trading AFRICAN and SOUTH-SEA Companies; the late Expedition to the SPANISH WEST-INDIES; the Taking and Reſtitution of CAPE-BRETON.

SOME

Curious ANECDOTES of the SPANISH Court; a ſhort Hint for expunging the Errors and ſuperfluous Jargon, and hyperbolical Myſteries in the three great Profeſſions of DIVINITY, PHYSIC and LAW, and reducing them into conciſe, regular, rational and intelligible Syſtems, &c. * * * * &c. * * * * and &c.

LONDON:

Printed for the Author; and Sold by S. BLADON, at the Paper-Mill, in Pater-noſter-Row. 1753.

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THE AUTHOR'S APOLOGY, TO THE GENEROUS READER.

MEMOIRS relating Facts co-temporary with the Times, in which they are written, when almoſt all the *Dramatis Perſonæ* are upon the Stage, methinks is a ſufficient Proof of their Veracity, otherwiſe *Truth*, muſt ſtare them in the Face to confute them immediately, were not the Facts true, and the Characters juſt; why are they not diſſected and contra-

dicted? And you will find all the Events correſpond directly, and have anſwered exactly to the Prognoſtics: The Riſe, Progreſs, and Fall of the two great trading Companies, the moſt advantagious and beneficial Branches of Trade that ever were in *England*; the Succeſs of the grand ſecret Expedition; the Reſtitution of *Cape Breton*, *&c.*

Resentment is a Faculty of the Mind, the natural Repeller of Injuries, and Provider for immediate Self-Defence, the firſt Law of Nature; a Virtue may be aggravated to exceed the Bounds of adequate Satisfaction, into Revenge and Malice, ſo becomes a Vice: I am conſcious to myſelf, that I have kept within Bounds, in this Reſ-

Reſpect; by the Treatment I have met with in the Courſe of my Life-time, I ſhall not preſume to judge for myſelf, but leave it to the Determination of the generous Reader.

Conscience or Honour, which I reckon ſynonimous Terms, is no Faculty of the Mind, but only the inward Senſe, every one feels within himſelf of his own Actions, being conſcious to himſelf only, of the original Spring and true Cauſe from whence they proceed; ſo according to the Judgment he forms of theſe Actions, they are conſcientiouſly good or bad; from this Motive alone, no *real good Man* of intrinſic Worth dares do a bad Action, for his own ſake, tho' there were no Laws in civil Socie-

ty to reſtrain and check him; from hence is the true Source, and original Spring of all real Happineſs and Contentment of Mind, or the Reverſe; as for my own Part, *I dwell within myſelf.* This is what *Horace* calls the brazen Wall of the Virtuous.

Nil conſcire ſibi, nullâ palleſcere culpâ.

EMULATION, the chief Spur to great Purſuits, may ſwell out into exorbitant and unbounded Ambition, but the Source was originally good, and the luxuriant Excreſcences could only ſpring from a generous Root; which any one of the leaſt Penetration, may eaſily perceive without my pointing it out: For there is nothing more cer-

certain than that our Way of Thinking is governed by the Elevation of the animal Spirits, as every one who has lived in Variety of Climates, and ſhifted different Scenes in Life, have ſufficiently and demonſtrably experienced: Great Succeſs moſt commonly infuſes great Thoughts, and inſpires a noble Preſumption, which render Men brave and magnanimous; whereas we frequently ſee that Men with their Fortunes and Liberties, loſe their very Spirits and Souls.

A great Soul indeed that can ſupport under ſuch Preſſures!

As the comic Poet rightly obſerves.

Uti res noſtræ ſint ita nos,
Magni atque humiles ſumus.

When theſe Memoirs firſt appeared in the World, I met with a Gentleman of thorough Knowledge of Men and Books, an old Acquaintance of mine, who told me in a friendly Manner; " Doctor, I have read your Memoirs, I ſhould have known them to be yours, tho' they had made no Mention of your Name.

The Whip is good enough, but the Laſh is too long.

As you ſet up in Oppoſition to the far greateſt part of Mankind, and even to *yourſelf*, by telling the *naked Truth*; you reveal the grand Secrets of this World, which ſhakes the

the Foundation of artful Policy; don't you know the old trite Phraſe,

Children and Fools tell Truth;

for Truth is not to be told at all Times. *Dulce eſt decipere*, ſaid *Horace*: *Vive la Bagatelle!* ſays *Swift*.

Doubtleſs the Pleaſure is as great,
Of being cheated, as to cheat.

But I know your Anſwer,

You pleaſe yourſelf in following your own Humour,------and conſequently muſt pay for it.

Neceſſity is the beſt Cure for *ſenſeleſs Pride*, and *whimſical Vanity*; it rouſes the indolent, and

Phyſic, and Law, that keep the World in Awe, to extirpate all who were not her faithful and loyal Subjects; with private Orders, to enter into the Breaſt of every Individual Subject, to extinguiſh even to the leaſt Spark of Diſloyalty to her; in this Caſe what a happy Life, and more happy World ſhould we enjoy? Heaven in Perfection! but alas! ſhe has got a moſt formidable and powerful Rival, to ſtruggle with, Money, Emperor *de facto* of the World, her inveterate Enemy, who has uſurped to himſelf an abſolute Dominion, and arbitrary tyrannical Power over the World, and has reigned with a deſpotic Sway ever ſince his firſt Appearance to take upon him the Command, for he has ſecured *Artful Policy*, for his prime Miniſter, and

major

major Vis for General of his Forces; and conſequently can eaſily thwart all the Views, diſconcert the Meaſures, and diſappoint all the Deſigns of his Opponents; and very likely to ride triumphant 'till Time ſhall be no more: In ſhort, Sir, *Money* is the *Devil*, the very *Devil* we all talk of, and moſt worſhip; but now-a-days he always appears in Maſquerade, for he has got the Art of concealing his *cloven-foot*, he does not care to be perſonally known, as in former Times; for he finds by long Experience, that he can do Buſineſs more effectually *incog.* than known, and bids very fair for univerſal Empire. *Solomon* tells us,

Money anſwers all Things.

In the mean Time, I flatter myſelf that I have ſaid nothing but what is intirely agreeable to *Truth*, which is but one, and lies within a very narrow certain compaſs, but Error is immenſe ; however diſagreeable it may be to others, I am willing to ſtand or fall by that *Teſt* : it is true, that my natural Diſpoſition, to the qualities of Mind, is frank, open and generous, without Reſerve, but inflexible, ſo that my Inclinations are laid open to public View without any Diſguiſe, by telling Truth *boldly* ; free unfettered Souls nobly dare to think for themſelves, to look thorough the Maſk, and ſneer at Deluſions ; without ſparing myſelf, or conſidering on Conſequences, I ſtrictly follow her dictates to the beſt of my Judgment with an Abhorrence

to

to all Kinds of Reſerve, where Truth is to be concealed or diſguiſed, even to Diſcretion, when it confines *Wit*, and ſtifles *Humour*, which only gives a Sort of momentary Pleaſure to a *Genius* bent that way; for every Parent is fond of his own Child, when he knows that it is brought forth of a good honeſt Mother, tho' the Child may be a little perverſe and excentric, in its Diſpoſition, yet I fairly confeſs it is a *Foible* and a very great *Foible*, for true *Humour*, if not kept up with Decency and Dignity loſes its Beauty, and in theſe irregular Sallies the *Man* loſes himſelf: Bad Policy, or no Policy!

Inherent Faculties of the Mind may be curbed by Prudence, and checked by Diſcretion; but are not

to

to be altered, without altering intirely the natural Diſpoſition of the Man by creating him anew. This is the only Apology, I preſume to make for myſelf, and leave the World to anſwer for themſelves; and if any one in particular is offended, let him lay his hand on his Heart, and *in Truth* blame himſelf, for I freely acknowledge myſelf blame-worthy.

Reaſon will get the better of Prejudices, for great is the Power of Truth, but Nature is unalterable.

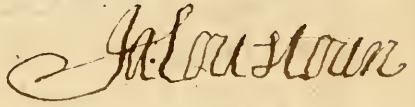
Now it may very naturally, be objected, how can he who has conducted his own Affairs and Actions with ſo little Prudence and Diſcretion, pretend to preſcribe Rules to others,

others, to conduct them in the right way? But there is nothing ſurer, than he who has ſtruck frequently upon a ſunken Rock, without being intirely ſhipwrecked and gets aſhore at the very laſt Gaſp, to tell his own Story; is the moſt proper Perſon, to deſcribe the Situation of that Rock, with the great Dangers ſurrounding it, and the proper Methods of eviting them, to direct the Courſe to ſteer clear of theſe imminent Dangers; where you may diſcover and diſtinguiſh, the Procedure and Limits of the human Underſtanding, from the Irregularities and Sallies of the Paſſions, in different Characters, of the human Species, and how widely the ſame identical Perſon differs from himſelf in the Career of Life.

This

This is the true Theory of the OEconomy of this World, the practical Part you will find fully exemplified in theſe Memoirs; by

Your moſt humble Servant.



Dr. *HOUSTOUN's*

MEMOIRS

OF

HIS OWN LIFE-TIME.

DO not know, for I never thought it worth while to enquire, the Day nor Year I was born; but it muſt be ſome Time in, or about, the Year 1690. My Father was *George Houſtoun* of *Johnſtoun*, of a very antient Family, *Houſtoun* of *Houſtoun*, Baronet, in *Renfewſhire*, *Scotland*; and my Mother was *Elizabeth Cunningham*,

of the Family of *Craigends*, in the ſame Shire, a Branch of the moſt antient and noble Family of *Glencairn*.

THE Cuſtom of that Country is, the eldeſt Son inherits the whole paternal Eſtate, and the reſt of the Children are thrown upon the World, with little or nothing but Education, which, in my humble Opinion, is as good, and more eaſily acquired in that Country, than in any other Part of *Great Britain*. I have heard my Mother ſay, that I was the youngeſt of fifteen Children, ſo nothing fell to my Share but my Education, which, I muſt acknowledge, was as liberal as that Country could afford; and afterwards I went to *Holland* and *France* for a further Improvement in my Studies.

GENIUS appears in the moſt natural and lively Colours in Youth, before the Underſtanding has formed itſelf ſtrong enough to diſſemble; it very early exerted itſelf with me in *Pride* and *Ambition*, epi-

epidemically inherent in the Blood, and concomitant with all *Scotſmen*, only turning and exerting itſelf into different Shapes, which has been obſerved by the moſt accurate Obſervators; "The *Scots*, ſays the "learned *Puffendorf*, are very apt to pro- "poſe to themſelves great Matters, and to "delight in their own Inventions."

M. *Meſnager*, in his *Memoirs of the four laſt Years of Queen* Anne's *Reign*, ſays of the late great *John* Duke of *Argyll*; "That he had too much of the *Scotſ-* "*man* in him, to ſubmit more to any "Man than he could help; and too much "Senſe to be wanting to obtain any "Thing to gratify his Ambition."

ONE Major *Smith*, a Gentleman of undoubted Honour and Credit, told me, That, on a Journey from *London* to *Edinburgh*, he travelled two Stages without even a Servant, when he chanced to break his Stirrup-leather, and, eſpying a Fellow at ſome Diſtance a-hedging, he call'd him to aſk his Aſſiſtance. The Fellow, in

a very ſubmiſſive and obliging Manner, ran half a Mile for an Awl and Pack-thread, and then mended the Stirrup-leather; upon which the Major put his Hand in his Pocket, and gave the Man Six-pence, for which he was very thankful. When the Major was mounting his Horſe, he deſired him to hold the Stirrup;—*Na, Na,* ſays the Fellow, *my Name is* Campbell, *Sir, and I wonna haud any Man's Stirrop in* England. *

KING *James* himſelf, the Firſt of *England,* had a great deal of *Scotch* Blood in him, but I am afraid it was intermixed with worſe, which contaminated the Blood of the whole Race 'till meliorated again by Intermarriages.——*True* Scotch *Blood from the King to the Cobler!*

IT is ſurpriſingly remarkable, and aſtoniſhing to the whole World, that, of all Nations, the *Britiſh* are the moſt induſtrious and careful in a right Breed of their Cattle,

* The Major was a *Scotſman* himſelf, and approv'd of the Fellow's Anſwer greatly; and gave him another Six-pence for it.

Cattle, Horſes, Dogs, and the moſt negligent of their own Breed from the Higheſt to the Loweſt.

" PRIDE (ſays an accurate Searcher in-
" to human Nature) is that natural Facul-
" ty, by which every Mortal, that has any
" Underſtanding, over-values, and ima-
" gines better Things of himſelf than any
" impartial Judge, thoroughly acquainted
" with all his Qualities and Circum-
" ſtances, can allow him." Then I add, expecting and demanding a greater Regard and Reſpect than is juſtly due to his real Merit.

" WE are poſſeſſed of no other Qua-
" lity ſo beneficial to Society, (when it
" exerts itſelf rightly) and ſo neceſſary to
" render it wealthy and flouriſhing as
" this; yet it is that which is moſt ge-
" nerally deteſted, and the prouder a
" Man is, *i. e.* the more Eſteem he has
" for himſelf, the greater is his Dread of
" Shame; *& vice versâ*; and as this Fear
" of Shame is more or leſs, ſo it ſur-

" mounts, or gives way to other Fears,
" and ſometimes we ſee it gets the better
" of the greateſt of all Fears, even Death
" itſelf, as in Duelling and Suicide."

THE witty Lord *Rocheſter* likewiſe very juſtly obſerves, that every Mortal would be a Coward if he durſt, for no Man of Honour dares be a Coward, he muſt either part from his Honour, or his Cowardice; and, if I am rightly informed, by my Lord *Shaftſbury* and the Duke of *Buckingham*, the latter was more prevalent with his Lordſhip than the former; ſo that he durſt be a Coward.

THIS is ſtrongly exemplified in what they call *Scotch* Pride, or *Spaniſh Punto*, which is much the ſame Thing, but exerts itſelf in different Manners, for both are actuated by the ſame Motive.

Pride has got
Ambition for her firſt Born;
Hope is a younger Child;
Poſitiveneſs is of the ſame Family; and
Reſolution is near a-kin, but ſhe has got
Underſtanding for her Parent.

" THAT

"THAT Strength, or Stoutneſs of "Heart, depending on the animal Func- "tions, is commonly call'd *Courage* or *Va-* "*lour*, but that Strength or Vigour of "Mind, which depends on the animal Spi- "rits, is called *Reſolution*; the firſt com- "mon to the Vulgar, the other very un- "common, but more inherent in the "Great; Strength of Mind is infinitely "more requiſite for great Actions than "Stoutneſs of Heart." Cardinal de *Rhetz*.

AMBITION was the ROCK that I ſo often ſplit on, in the Courſe of my *Life-time*, with hundreds more, to my certain Knowledge, and thouſands of thouſands who will not ſo ingenuouſly confeſs it; notwithſtanding I acknowledge to ſteer near this is right Navigation in the Courſe of Life, if you can keep clear of the ROCK; tho' this was the very ROÇK the Royal Family of *Stuarts* ſtruck on, which they too ſeverely felt, and paid for, to their fatal Experience by its Conſequences.

Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

OF all Hiſtory I have always had the greateſt Pleaſure, Satisfaction, and Edification from *Memoirs of Lives*, eſpecially when wrote by the Perſons themſelves, from *Cæſar*'s Commentaries to *Colley Cibber*'s Life; for it is impoſſible, even for the beſt Limner, to draw a juſt Picture to the Likeneſs, unleſs the Original is the Object of his Senſes. It is true, all Actions in human Life, eſpecially the glorious Tranſactions of the Great, are the Object of our Senſes, but none know the original Source and ſecret Springs of thoſe Actions and Tranſactions but the Actor himſelf. I muſt own, that *Vanity*, which every mortal is poſſeſſed of, more or leſs, naturally leads us to be partial to ourſelves; but this is ſufficiently counter-balanced, by Honour, Sincerity, and Truth, and, in my humble Opinion, every Man of tolerable Underſtanding, with common Honour and Honeſty, is the fitteſt Man to write his *own Memoirs*; for he certainly knows more of himſelf, than others can poſſibly know of him.

Mas

Mas ſave loco en ſu Caſa, que cuerdo en agena.

THERE is great Pleaſure and Satisfaction in ruminating on the former Paſſages and remarkable Tranſactions in Life, and the uſeful Reflections from Reading them over in a more advanced Age, as *Martial* ſays in his ſecond Book,

Hoc eſt vivere bis, vitâ poſſe priore frui.

BUT if theſe indigeſted Conceptions ſhould chance to be brought into the World, naked as they are, as my poſthumous Works, and the Reader don't like ſuch low-life Stuff, he may let them alone, for I can aſſure him, they never were deſigned for his Pleaſure or Satisfaction, only for my own; knowing the Veracity of the Facts related, I don't want to enforce them to others.

BUT, as Example is infinitely ſtronger than Precept, I ſhall begin with my very Childhood; when I was in my very

very young and tender Years, I was my Mother's Favourite more than any of the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters. I ſuppoſe from her innate Goodneſs, and Piety to nurſe up a tender Child, with great Care, that otherwiſe muſt have infallibly periſhed; and ſhe continued her Favours to me 'till the Day of her Death. The reſt of the Children envy'd and twitted me with this Happineſs; and, when they found a fit Opportunity to ſhew their Spite and Reſentment, they uſed to give me a Knock or two for it. I was above making Complaints, when I knew they would be ſeverely whipt for it: But they came over me another Way, not thro' Deſign, but by mere Accident, they catch'd me fairly in my own Way: My Father uſed to give all the Children a little Money from time to time, except myſelf: When we Children got together, they ſhewed me their Money, and upbraided me for Want. I knew very well how they came by it, bore a ſtrong Reſentment againſt my Father for not giving me any, and was reſolved to be up with

with him, as ſoon as poſſibly I could find a fit Opportunity. I could not then be above ſix Years of Age, which I remember as well as yeſterday, being a remarkable Paſſage in that Part of Life. Though I had not the leaſt Notion of the Uſe of Money, yet my *Vanity* led me to be even with, if not out-do them: Accordingly, when my Father was receiving his Rents from his Tenants, I was wholly taken up in accompliſhing my Deſign, which I dexterouſly enough executed, by ſecuring the faireſt Piece of Money I could ſet my Eyes on, a new coined Forty-pence Piece, in the great Bible, without my Father's Diſcovery, or having the leaſt Suſpicion of it; which I concealed for ſome time, 'till my natural Temper, and Bent to *Vanity*, made me diſcover myſelf, and brag, that I had more Money than all of them put together. They put me to a Defiance, by producing their Money. I readily betrayed myſelf, by producing my Piece, which they made a Handle of, to lead me into a moſt terrible Scrape. My Father called for me, but, by

all

all his Threats and Punishments for some Weeks running, he could never learn, or get any satisfactory Answer, how I came by that Money. But the Moment my Mother asked me, I told her the whole Truth, with my Inducements and Reasons for what I had done, an *Emulation* not to be out-done in any Thing by the rest of the Children, and gave the Piece of Money directly on my own accord to her, which no Punishment could have extorted from me otherwise: For I knew no Crime in the taking of it, as I thought myself justly intitled to it, since my Father had given all my Brothers and Sisters Money, and me none; which verifies the Saying, *That some may be easily led that cannot be drove*, according to the natural Disposition of the Person; for *Nature* is unalterable in itself; it may indeed be new modelled by Education, but there's nothing more sure than, *What's bred in the Bone seldom comes out of the Flesh.*

I WAS taught the Rudiments of Learning by my Father's Chaplain, who was a very

very good *Latin* Scholar; and underſtood the *Greek* Language very well: He was afterwards Maſter of the Grammar-ſchool of *Paſley*, where I was put under his Care.

I HAD a certain Vivacity and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, and an eaſy Conception, with a Readineſs of Anſwering, amongſt all the Boys, peculiar only to myſelf, but I never had any Memory, (Wits have no Memory!) which gave me a Rank amongſt the firſt and beſt of the Scholars, tho' I was no ways entitled to it, for there was amongſt them many better Scholars than myſelf; what Learning they had got was ſubſtantial, mine was moſtly Appearance, ſeen thro' a Magnifying Glaſs: However it fell out, I was claſſed amongſt the firſt, pickt out from the beſt Scholars in the School, and had Self-conceit enough to fancy it was thro' my own Merit. Our grand Competition was once a Week, to diſpute for *Dux* of the Claſs, which I frequently carried from a ſuperior Antagoniſt, thro' mere Dint of Forwardneſs: But, when I was worſted, nothing could vex me more

grie-

grievously, the only Incentive and Motive that could possibly make me apply to my Studies, and what I know of Learning I owe entirely to this Cause; for whipping would never do. My Master used to tell me, *Quos amo castigo:* But I only bore him a boyish Spite for it, and played him twenty arch Tricks, too trifling to repeat: Had it not been for this *Emulation* and *Contention* I never should have made any Proficiency at School, nor even known the very Rudiments of Learning; for which Reason a publick School is infinitely preferable to private Teaching.

OF all Professions and Employments in the World a School-master for Teaching of Youths is of the greatest Importance to Mankind; for, next to the great *Creator*, he has the Formation of them; a great *Genius* may be crushed in the Bud, and die; a little *Genius* may be cultivated to a good Growth, and live; which, without great Care, would have perished: In short, he makes the *Man:* As you may see in the *Introductory Essay on Genius and Education.*

MUCH

MUCH about this Time there was a Project on foot in *Scotland* of ſettling a Colony on the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*, near *Panama* and *Porto-bello*, which reaches from the South to the North Seas in *America*. I have travelled from *Porto-bello* to *Panama* on a Mule; it is about three Days Journey, the moſt damned out of the way Road that ever I ſaw in my whole Life-time; I take it to be about thirty (tho' commonly called only twenty) Leagues; but there is a much nearer Cut thro' the Woods, which *Spaniſh* Policy will not allow to be opened, but keeps this almoſt unpaſſable Road open, as a Defence for *Panama* and the Inland Country from the North Seas; which Policy ſtood them in good ſtead at the Time of the *Britiſh* Expedition deſigned againſt *Panama*, in the Year 1742. I have been told by one of my Predeceſſors, Mr. *Bacon*, in the Company's Service, that he has travelled thro' the Woods with his Boy, Gun and Dog from *Panama* to *Porto-bello* in leſs than thirty ſix Hours; and I was credibly informed, that the King's Courier has done

it

it in twenty four Hours; but it is Death by the King's Edict, for any one else to venture on this Road, or to clear any Ground for a Road, only Leave is given to cut down a little Brush-wood for Firing round the Town of *Porto-bello*. There's likewise a Passage up the River *Chagre* within ten Leagues of *Porto-bello*, with a good landing Place in a champaign Country within five or six Leagues of *Panama*. There are many large and convenient Rivers in *Darien* navigable, as I was told, within a few Leagues of the *South-Sea*, a most convenient and advantageous Situation for Commerce. This Expedition made a very great Noise in *Scotland*, as it was a national Affair separate from *England*. I have read all that our History says concerning it, by different Hands, and had a particular Account of it, from an intimate Acquaintance of mine, Don *Juan de Herrera*, his *Catholick* Majesty's Chief Ingineer, at *Carthagena* in *America*, who was the very Person that went with the King of *Spain*'s Express Order to repel Force by Force; which original Instructions from the Court of *Madrid*

I have,

I have ſeen, but they were gone before his Arrival at *Darien:* And I verily believe, that the King of *Spain* would have riſked his whole *Weſt-Indies*, rather than acquieſced to the Settlement of this Colony, which muſt neceſſarily have made a Rupture betwixt *England* and *Spain*, the Conſequences of which might have put all *Europe* in a Flame, therefore neither prudent nor convenient for the King of *England* at that critical Time. In ſhort, by all that I can learn, I conceive this Expedition to have been originally an immature Conception of my Countrymen, without duly conſidering the Conſequences, and ſo proved an abortive Birth; and the Truth of this Conjecture appears, when the united Force of *Great Britain*, at War with *Spain*, in the Years 1739 and 1740, took the Harbour, Caſtles and Town of *Porto-bello*, and the Harbour of *Carthagena* with all its ſtrong Caſtles, they did not think it right Policy to maintain and ſupport them, which they could very eaſily have done with a ſmall Garriſon; but they only demoliſh'd and razed them to the very Ground, and left

the Harbours open as formerly, without any Shipping; I ſuppoſe this was for fear of offending, and embroiling ourſelves in War with the reſt of the Powers of *Europe:* Whereas it is certain, had they garriſoned theſe Caſtles, inſtead of demoliſhing them, with 800 or 1000 Men, which they then could have eaſily ſpared, and kept two Line of Battle Ships always in the Harbour, relieved from time to time, with proper Proviſions, Stores, *&c.* for the Garriſon from *Jamaica*, which would have been a ſufficient Force for any Attack the *Spaniards* could poſſibly have raiſed againſt them at that Time; by theſe Means they might have had an entire Command of the Towns of *Carthagena*, and, *Porto-Bello* being in their Poſſeſſion, conſequently of all the Trade of thoſe inland Countries, excluſive of all other Nations, during the War; and, on a Peace with *Spain*, might have received a valuable Conſideration for delivering them up, perhaps equivalent to the Expences of the whole War in the *Weſt-Indies*.

MY Politics in these Affairs go no further than what I have seen and heard from the Actors themselves, and I do confess their Conduct did raise very strange Notions in my Mind, Why the *Scots* should be angry with the *English* for obstructing their Settlement of *Darien*, when they see that they won't do it themselves, though they have it in their Power and Possession by right of War? But the *Scots* took Possession contrary to the Tenour of all Treaties, when we had a profound Peace with *Spain*. Or what the real and substantial Reasons were, that they did not embrace that Opportunity? And what were the Reasons, that *England* paid *Scotland* an Equivalent, at the HAPPY UNION of the two Nations, for the Loss the *Scots* sustained by the *Darien* Settlement, when they will not settle it themselves? *

I REMEMBER when the Noise of this *Caledonian* Settlement was spread all over *Scotland*, I was a mere Child, not above

* See Letter, Number I. in the Appendix.

eight Years of Age; but, from my very Infancy, I had a ſtrange Itch and Curioſity for Rambling and ſeeing the World, which continued with me all my Life-time. Tho' at thoſe Years of Infancy it was impoſſible for me to form any Notion where I ſhould go, I aſked my Mother, *If ſhe would give me leave to go to* Caledonia? The good old Lady anſwered me with tender Love and Affection, (being a very weakly Child, occaſioned by the *Rickets*) *Pray, Child, mind your Book.*

FROM the *Grammar-School* of *Paſley* I went to the *Univerſity* of *Glaſgow*, where I ſtudied, or, as I may rather ſay, diverted myſelf for five Years. The *firſt* Year at the College, they teach the *Latin* Claſſics, which they call the *Hen* or *Humanity* Claſs. Our *Profeſſor* (or *Regent*, as he is called there) underſtood his Profeſſion exceedingly well; but was a little upon the volatile Taſte, and wanted to infuſe lofty Notions into his Diſciples of the Grandeur and Magnificence of the old *Romans*. I remember he told us, "That there was "more Money expended, and more Men employed

" employed in cleaning a common Sewer " in *Rome*, than all the Charges and Num- " ber of Men, in the whole confederate " Army, amounted to under the great " Duke of *Marlborough*:" But I don't remember to have read any ſuch Account in *Roman* Authors. However, it took with me, for I liked much to hear Stories and read of the Exploits of the Ancients: And this Year I paſſed with Profit and Pleaſure.

THE *next* Year they teach the *Greek* Tongue, or the *Bajon* Claſs; in which I made but a very ſmall Proficiency; for the Study of a dead Language was too dry for me at that Time; ſo that I never knew ſo much of the *Greek* Language as to be Maſter of any Author; yet I divided my Time this Year betwixt the *Humanity* and *Bajon* Claſſes.

THE *third* Year they teach *Logics*, or the *Semi-Claſs*: But I never had any Taſte for this Sort of Learning; and indeed I very ſoon conceived an utter Ab-

horrence to the Reaſoning by way of *Syllogiſm*; even ſo far, that, when we were obliged to diſpute one with another, according to the Rules laid down to us in this Method, and it came to my Turn, I endeavoured, as far as in me lay, to turn it into mere Ridicule, without obſerving any Rule at all: And ſometimes our Profeſſor, who was always the Umpire of the Diſpute, was pleaſed with my out-of-the-way Reaſoning, without obſerving their Method of Forms and Figures; yet, methinks, I am at no Loſs now for the Want of this Part of Learning: All my Reaſoning came *è propriâ Pharetrâ*.

THE *fourth* Year they taught *Metaphyſics*, or the *Batchelor* Claſs, and *Ethics*. To the firſt I had an equal Averſion, as to *Logics*; but the laſt I was a little better reconciled to. We read *Puffendorf de Officio Hominis & Civis*: But by this time I had pickt up three or four of the cleverſt young Fellows, as I thought, of the whole College for my intimate Comrades, and

and we were early initiated to all the Pleasures of the *Beau Monde*, Whoring, Drinking, Gaming, and gallanting the Ladies; and at these Diversions I was as forward, and made as good an Appearance as any of my Comrades. We were looked upon by the grave, hypocritical, and enthusiastical People of *Glasgow*, as profligate, wicked young Fellows; whereas the more penetrating and knowing Part of them, but all the young Ladies particularly had Goodness enough to impute our Gallantry only to Sallies and Flights of Youth, which riper Age with Experience might correct.

At the same Time I must acknowledge, we went such Lengths, that, had they come to my Parents Ears, who were strict *Presbyterians*, very rigid in their religious Forms, and not at all acquainted with the Ways of the World, I should have forfeited my Mother's Favour, and been disgraced and banished their Presence; but I had such a Flow of Spirits at that Age, that nothing could

have checked, or controuled them, but ſtopping my Vitals.

I ALWAYS lodged in the College with the *Library Keeper*, who made me his Companion in all reſpects. He was a Man of Letters and good Senſe; and afterwards married my Siſter) a compleat Judge of my Capacity, and perfectly well acquainted with my Humour, and gave me his Advice by way of Friendſhip, and not that of Superiority, or Command; otherwiſe I ſhould have deſpiſed him, and his Advice too. One Day he delivered himſelf thus to me; "As you have Time enough (ſaid he) "free from your College hours, ſuppoſe "you and I took a Courſe of *Mathema-*"*tics* and *experimental Philoſophy?* You "know young *Wilſon*, who is very ca-"pable of performing that Courſe; we'll "make him come to our Chambers every "Day, at the Hour you'll pleaſe to ap-"point; it will coſt us but four Gui-"neas, which we'll find Ways and Means "to make your Father pay for; and we "ſhall

" ſhall have the free Uſe of the *College* " *Library*, and their *Mathematical Inſtru-* " *ments*." The Manner of propoſing it, by putting himſelf upon the ſame Footing of Learning with me, took extreamly well I greedily went into the kind Propoſal with infinite Pleaſure, and ſpent two or three Hours a-day, four Days in a Week, in theſe Studies, during my Stay in the College, which did me more Service and Profit than all the Learning I had in the College beſides; and I had ſuch Satisfaction in theſe Studies, that I even would have left my Pleaſures in the *Beau Monde*, to attend them at the accuſtomed Hours, when I ſeldom or never attended the College-hours, except to anſwer the Call of the *publick Catalogue* of the whole College.

THE *fifth* and laſt Year they teach *Phyſics* or the *Magiſtran* Claſs. I had no great Inducement to ſtudy here, for they taught *John Clerc*'s *Phyſics*, and I was then reading *Samuel Clerc*'s *Phyſics*, a much better Syſtem. All the Students in this Claſs

are

are obliged to make a publick Oration in the common Hall, before the Profeſſors and the whole College, every one in his Turn: When it came to my Turn, I choſe for my Subject,

De veritate inveſtigandâ:

Wherein I aſſerted, "That no rational "Creature could believe more than what "was conſiſtent with, and agreeable to "his Reaſon: And that it was abſolutely "impoſſible for any rational Creature to "believe what is contradictory to that "Reaſon the Author of Nature has given "him." Truth may be concealed for want of Capacity to diſcover it, but of itſelf it is unalterably the ſame; as for Example, I am told, *That the Square of the Hypothenuſe of a rectangular Triangle is equal to the Squares of the other two Sides:* This is Truth, but I want Capacity to diſcover it; I conſult *Euclid*, who, by laying down plain Axioms, obvious to my Senſes, and agreeable to my Reaſon, and, going on from one natural Conſequence

to

to another, equal to my Capacity and agreeable to my Reaſon, demonſtrates and convinces me, that this is Truth; it is ſo, muſt be ſo, and cannot poſſibly be otherwiſe; but if this Mr. *Euclid* had began with his Axioms, *Two and three are equal to Six*; *one is three, and three are one*, &c. I ſhould have ſtopt here, and ſaid, *This is contradictory to the Reaſon the Author of Nature has given me*; for my Reaſon dictates to me, *That two and three are equal to five*; and *one is only* ONE; and *three are triple the Number.*

I LIKEWISE aſſerted in that Oration, "That what was more or leſs beneficial "to Society, was more or leſs virtuous; "and *vice versâ*, what was more or leſs "detrimental to Society, was more or leſs "vicious; and that *This* was the only "*Virtue (Good)* and *Vice (Bad)* in the "World." I endeavoured, under this Cloak, to conceal and excuſe my own Vices, as much as I could not being detrimental to Society.

THESE

THESE muſt be innate Ideas, or the Dictates of my own Reaſon; for I do now ſolemnly declare, at that Time they were not borrowed either from Men or Books. However our *Gymnaſiarcha (Principal*, as they called him) ordered me to come down from the *Roſtrum* and very angrily took my Oration from me, of which I have no Copy to inſert here, and confined me to my Chambers. Next Day there was a Meeting, (a *Faculty*, as they called it) in order to conſult, Whether or not I ſhould be extruded the College? as my Oration ſtruck at the *holy Myſteries of our Religion*, and was *for the Encouragement of Vice*.

MY *Profeſſor* ſent for me that Evening, and told me my Lord *Pollock*, *Rector Magnificus*, of the Univerſity, and one of the *Senators* of the College of Juſtice, ſaid, "He "knew my Parents; that they bred up "all their Children in right Principles, "and in the Fear of the Lord; ſo he "could not think that I meant any Thing "againſt our *Holy Religion:*" And my Profeſſor

feſſor was pleaſed to ſay, " That the In-
" genuity of the Oration made ſome Apo-
" logy for ſome odd and out-of-the-way
" Expreſſions and Notions." So thro' their Merit I was ſaved. But our Principal inſiſted, that I ſhould make another Oration, by way of *Recantation*. This made a great Noiſe in the Univerſity, and was the ſubject Matter of Converſation amongſt every Body that had the leaſt Smattering of Learning, which gave me an Opportunity of improving my Thoughts, and digeſting them into a new Model, in which I divided all *Mankind* into *two Claſſes*. The *firſt* and *loweſt*, but by far the greateſt and moſt uſeful Part, are governed by the firſt and ſtrongeſt Law of Nature, *Self-love* and *Preſervation*. They anſwer this End entirely, by the Force of Labour and Induſtry, ſo as to provide ſufficiently for the Preſervation of themſelves and Progeny; and thoſe Creatures, we call irrational, act on the very ſame Dictates of Nature, to provide for the Preſervation of themſelves and young ones.

THE

THE *ſecond* and *higheſt* are *Ambitious* to excel the reſt of their Fellow-creatures; and in this Claſs enter the three grand Profeſſions *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Phyſick*, which they acquire, by improving their *Genius* thro' Education, ſo as to arrive by a ſuperior Judgment and Knowledge, to be able to diſcover, and diſtinguiſh *Truth* from *Falſhood*. This is the Origin of the *Superiority* of one over another, and the Cardinal Point on which all Politicks both in *Church* and *State* move, in order to keep the World in *Ignorance* and *Awe*; ſo that the *laſt* may only prey on the *firſt*, and ſo I went on,

To inveſtigate Truth; and
Detect vulgar Errors.

IN ſhort I was to new model a World, that I then could not poſſibly know any Thing at all of, and form a *Religion* perfectly new for myſelf, which I may call *Natural Religion*; for I am ſure it could not be *Artificial*, becauſe I knew of none, but what I read of, amongſt the

antient

antient Greeks and *Romans*, and what I heard at *Glaſgow*. I muſt own I liked neither, which put me upon this new Invention owing to the Fertility of my own Brain; and, lucky it was for me that my *Recantation* never was heard, or elſe, I dare ſay, it would have fared worſe for me with our *Principal* than at firſt; and if my Parents ever heard any Thing of theſe Embroils, they were ſo diſcrete as never to mention them.—I concluded with this infallible Maxim,

Magna eſt Veritas et prævalebit.

And then added,

Sed qui vult decipi, decipiatur.

DURING the whole Courſe of my *Life-time*, I have always had a great Averſion and Abhorrence to all MYSTERIES in any Profeſſion whatever, as a mere Impoſition on Mankind: And I have always oppoſed, and endeavoured to the utmoſt of my Power, as far as was conſiſtent with

with my own Safety, to expunge them from the Profeſſions, and to eſtabliſh TRUTH in their Room; as the only certain Rule for rational Creatures to govern themſelves by.

I REMEMBER one Father *Burke*, an *Iriſh Roman Catholick Prieſt*, who was Chaplain to Don *Franciſco Cornejo*, General of the *Galleons* in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, in the Years 1726, 1727, *&c.* whom we made our Bottle-companion in the Factories of *Carthagena* and *Portobello*, as being a Sort of Country Man, (born a Subject of the King of *Great Britain*) but very *Teaguiſh*, one Day, diſcourſing about the *Reformation* in *England*, it was aſſerted, that even the *Clergy* were very inſtrumental in bringing about the *Reformation*, and that the *Proteſtant* Biſhops had made very bold Stands for the Support of it: *Oh! my Faith then!* (ſaid Father *Burke) I am greatly ſurpriſed, that the* Clergy *ſhould be for the* Reformation; *for I am ſure, where they make* a Penny *of* Jeſus, *ſince the* Reformation, *they*

they made a Pound *of* Him *before the* Reformation.

The Holy Father ſpoke great Truth!

POPE *Leo* X. ſays,

Quantas nobis Divitias comparavit iſta de Chriſto Fabula?

THE Emperor *Frederick* II. frequently ſaid,

Tres fuiſſe Inſignes Impoſtores, qui genus Humanum ſeduxerunt.

I HAVE read *Ochinus*'s Hiſtory of the *Three Impoſtors*; and do not like it at all; but the great Miſchiefs and direful Calamities by dreadful and horrid *Perſecutions*, ariſing from *Multiplicity* of different Opinions, and the Diſputes about them, have coſt the World more Blood and Treaſure, than all the whole Villanies in the World accumulated, which has obliged me to chuſe,

A CREED *of my own.*

AND, ever since I have been capable of knowing and distinguishing what *Government* was, I have been fixt in my Opinion, that mixt *Government*, as now established by the *British* Constitution, is the best.

I HAVE read all the Models and Frames of Government by the *Ancients*, *Chinese*, *Grecian*, and *Roman*, and I have lived under, and felt the Effects of all the principal different Kinds of our modern Governments; *absolute Monarchy*, *mixt Government*, and *Common-wealth*, and the longer I have lived, by Experience I have learnt, and impartially say, in my humble Opinion, " That Government which " gives the *largest Scope*, for their *King* " to be the *best* and *greatest of Kings*, at " the same Time limits and restrains " him from being the *worst*, and pre- " serves the *Liberty* and *Property* of the " *Subject*, is the best of all Governments:" Such is the *Jure Divino* King of *Great Britain*, by hereditary Right, and no farther;

farther; for the *Oaths* of *Coronation*, *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, as altered, regulated and fixed by Act of Parliament, in the firſt Seſſion of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, are a reciprocal Contract, and mutual Covenant, between the King and his Subjects; the Counterpart of this Covenant being broke on either Side, the Contract is void of courſe; for, by this Breach the King on one Side may *unking* himſelf, and the Subjects on t'other Side may *out-law* themſelves. The Bulwark of the *Britiſh Privileges*, and *Magna Charta* is the Baſis of all: Such is the mixed and limited Government of *Great-Britain*, the beſt in the whole World, with this Amendment, *That the Houſe of Lords ſhould be limited, and fixed to a certain Number*; and in the Election of Members to repreſent the Commons, *Votes ought only to go in Proportion to Property*, and no farther; the Quinteſſence of *Monarchy*, *Ariſtocracy* and *Democracy*. THREE IN ONE. And, during the whole Courſe of my *Life-time*, I have al-

ways mortally abhorred and hated all PRIEST-CRAFT, KING-CRAFT, STATE-CRAFT, and ALL CRAFT, but HANDY-CRAFT: For,

Prieſts of all Religions are the ſame! And

So are Stateſmen!

Only differing in Proportion to the Power and Authority they are inveſted with: Witneſſed by the Teſtimonies of Cardinal *de Rhetz* and Father *Paul*, and ſtrongly exemplified by the Practice of our *Courtiers* and *Patriots*, *Whigs*, and *Tories*, whilſt *in*, and *out* of *Place*;

No general Rule without an Exception.

IN the Intervals, during the Vacancies of the College, I went to my Father's Houſe in the Country, where I met a young Lady, with my Siſters, a Couſin of ours, politely bred up in the Female *Beau Monde*, well vers'd in *Romances* and *Plays*, and well acquainted with *modern Intrigues*: Her Converſation ſoon inſpired me, adorn'd with lofty and refined Notions

of

of *Love* and *Gallantry*. This Lady fair entertained and encouraged me, I fancy, more for her *Amuſement*, than any other Deſign; for ſhe had by much the Advantage of me, who was a mere *Novice in Amours:* However that might be, we continued our *Amour* for ſome Years; and when abſent by epiſtolary Correſpondence; and ſhe wrote me Letters, that *Cleopatra* herſelf needed not to have been aſhamed of; which put me upon my Metal to anſwer them, and made me dip a little into a Field, that otherwiſe would have lain quite uncultivated; by which I received both Profit and Pleaſure.

DURING this *Amour*, I fell deeply in Love with another young Lady of *Glaſgow* who was exceeding beautiful in her Perſon; but ſilly in Converſation. Here all my intimate Comrades were engaged; yet ſhe uſed to diſtinguiſh me, with her mannerly Favours, from amongſt all the reſt, which raiſed my *Vanity* to ſuch a Height, and encreaſed my *Love* to ſuch

a Degree, that nothing but Time could poſſibly rub out the Impreſſion.

THE great Miſs *Griz. Bl--r* was a young Lady of incomparable good Senſe, Wit and Humour; and very learned in her own Way, Romances, Plays, Poetry, the Claſſics in *Engliſh*; but of no great Beauty.

THE other Miſs *Is. D--gl-ſs* was a young Lady of extraordinary Beauty, eſpecially in my Eyes, but of no great Underſtanding; yet all ſhe ſaid and did ſeemed witty and pleaſant to me; the diſtinguiſhing Freedoms ſhe uſed with me in publick Company, greatly fed and ſupported my Conceit; which went greater Lengths in private, even as far as Virtue allowed: So that nothing but the great Regard and Adoration I had for her, could have prevented our Ruin in Matrimony, or ſomething worſe, more fooliſh, and childiſh, if poſſible; but if I had been Maſter of 20,000 l. ſhe ſhould have been

Miſtreſs

Miſtreſs of all, at any Stage of my *Life-time:* A ſure Sign of *True-blind Love.*

She had no Faults, or I no Faults could ſpy,
She was all Beauty, or all Blindneſs I.
SPECTATORS.

HENCE I obſerved that Beauty was more imaginary than real, as it depends more on the Shadow than the Subſtance.

A quick Conception and eaſy Delivery makes WIT:
A clear Underſtanding and ſound Judgment makes WISDOM.

MUCH about this Time the *happy Union* of the two Nations, was concluded and ratified; the immortal Glory of Queen *Anne*'s Reign; the principal Managers of which great Tranſaction ought to have had their Names handed down to Poſterity in indelible Characters of Gold.

AT that Time I could be no competent Judge of this Affair; but I heard much Talk of the *Antiquity* and *Independency* of the Crown of *Scotland*, and it was fo-

mented by the *frenchified Jacobite* Party, to ſerve as a *Bug-bear* for the Populace. I remember to have ſeen ſeveral Mobs going about, and calling out *No Union! No incorporated Union! No Slaves to* England! And theſe Mottos they wore as Cockades in their Hats, Bonnets, and pinned to their Breaſts. I have read the Speeches made by the Opponents to the *Union* in Parliament, and methinks all flow from the ſame Source, a glaring Show with *French Tinſel.*

I HAVE had long Experience of the *Engliſh* Settlements and Colonies in *Africa* and *America*, and the Trade thereof; and I dare venture to ſay, at a modeſt Computation, that the Advantages accruing to *Scotland* from the *Liberty* and *Freedom* of Trade, ſince the *Union*, to the foreſaid Settlements and Colonies, if they had been rightly managed and induſtriouſly improved, might have amounted to a greater Sum than the Value of the *whole Property* of the Kingdom of *Scotland.*

I HAVE heard *George Bailie*, of *Jerviſwood*, Eſq; when he was one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury of *Great Britain*, who was a Gentleman very exact in all his Accompts and Calculations, ſay, " That the Port of *Glaſgow* was then " the third Sea-port Town of *Great Bri-* " *tain*, for the Crown Revenues ariſing " from Trade."

IT is true, that you may hear a general Complaint, even amongſt the knowing and trading Part of *Scotland*; which I rather take to be a *Cant Word* crept in amongſt them, that they have not *Stock* to carry on Trade; which entirely proceeds from their *own Fault*; for, as ſoon as they can ſcrape up together a *little Money*, by Care and Induſtry, they knock off Trade and turn *Lairds*, at the only Time they are able and fit for carrying on *Trade* to Advantage, ſo as to deſerve the honourable Name of a *Merchant*. A bad Cuſtom! which is a great Draw-back on a trading Country; for, by laying out their Money on a *landed Intereſt*, they really want Mo-

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ney to employ in Proportion to the *Trade* they might carry on with all the Advantages of his Majesty's Subjects of *South Britain*, and even with some *additional Immunities* and *Liberties.*

AND the Advantages accruing to *England* are reciprocal, from the additional Number of Hands by the *Union*; for it is a known and true Maxim, *That the Riches of all trading Countries depend entirely on the Number of their Hands*; and it is more particularly so, when those very Hands, that are now *for* them, were the same Hands, as History tells us, that were always made use of against them, by the *French*, to molest and hurt the *English*, now their own Vitals; and to support the natural and inveterate Enemies of both Nations: For the *Disunion* of these two Nations, whom Nature seems to have united, methinks, is like an animal Body with one of its principal Members diseased, which if not timely cured, must infallibly turn into a *Gangrene*, wherein there is no Remedy but *Amputation*;

tation; and, in such a desperate Operation, the whole Body must be in eminent Danger of perishing: So every *true Briton* has Reason to thank God, that the Body has now got a strong and vigorous Constitution, and sound in all its Members; and I wish from the Bottom of my Soul, that it may long continue so, under the Care of skilful Physicians; for no-body can be a competent Judge of the Happiness enjoyed under a *British Constitution*, but he who has seen and felt the Misery under other Governments.

FOR my own part, I heartily thank God I was a *free-born* Subject of the Island of *Great Britain*, the two Nations now united in one Monarchy, limited by our *constitutional Laws*, under *one Parliament*, with a mutual Communication of Trade and Privileges: The Distinction and Names of *English* and *Scots* quite obliterated, the whole Island called *Great Britain*, and all the Inhabitants thereof, by one common Name, re-assuming the Name of the antient primitive Natives, BRITONS; which

which the *Welſh* are moſt properly entitled to, as lineal Deſcendants from them: All, I hope, incorporated as well in Mind as Conſtitution, for ever and ever: For thoſe who want to raiſe and foment Differences and Animoſities between his Majeſty's Subjects of *South* and *North Britain* muſt be Enemies to the whole, and Bane of all Society: So let Hearts and Hands unite amongſt all Ranks of People of *Great Britain*, and take the *Dutch* Motto for it.

Vis unita fortior; et Concordiâ res parvæ creſcunt:

And let every *Briton* ſay, AMEN! And a F*** for all our Enemies!

NOW I was arrived at an Age to look out for ſome Buſineſs to get Bread in the World; my Parents having left me to my own Choice, I kept my Eye on the three grand Profeſſions *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Phyſick*. The *firſt* I could not have the leaſt thought of; for, by the Conſtitution of the Church of *Scotland*,

land, there's not one *Benefice* in the Church worth *Ambition*'s pushing for; so I chose *Physick*.

THAT I might have a farther Opportunity of improving myself in my Education, I went to *Edinburgh* to learn *Surgery* and *Pharmacy*, and entered Student with the most famous Man of that Place, one Mr. *Montieth*, *Surgeon* and *Apothecary*, who prepared all his *Chemical* Medicines in his own Laboratory; and the Care of this Laboratory fell to my Share as a Student, and his Apprentices took Care of the *Apothecary*'s Shop.

I APPLIED pretty close at first, for it suited my Taste; I took also a College of *Anatomy*, and continued my Courses of *Mathematicks* and *natural Philosophy* under the best Masters: But, as this is the Place where the supreme Courts of Judicature are kept, the best Company of this Country (and perhaps of *Europe*) resort thither, I soon got a general Acquaintance with the gay young Fellows

Fellows of the Town, and my beloved *Glaſgow Charmer* came to Town; ſo I fell greatly off from my firſt Application, and ſpent much more of my Time on my Pleaſures, than on Buſineſs, and my expenſive Way of Life, my Circumſtances not being the beſt, reduced me to great Straits, which put me upon a thouſand Stratagems (perhaps ſome of them not ſo allowable as ſtrict Honour required) to raiſe Money to ſupport me; for I was then in ſuch a full Carier, that I could undergo any Difficulty to feed my Inclinations.

AT this Time my Father died, and my Mother's Jointure fell into her own Hands, which I ſuppoſe was about three thouſand Marks *Scotch* yearly; but the good old Lady muſt have confined herſelf to a very little, for I ſpent her one hundred Pounds *Sterling* a Year during her Life.

France, very much irritated, that their old Friends, (I may ſay *Tools*) the *Scots*, had

had ſtrictly *united* themſelves with *England*, and, that they might make a Diverſion of the *Britiſh* Forces, then in *Flanders*, from the Confederate Army, they made an Embarkation this Year, at *Dunkirk*, of ſome Tranſports under the Convoy of a ſmall Squadron of Men of War, with the abdicated King *James*'s Son on board, to invade *Scotland* with his Pretenſions to the Crown of *Great Britain*, and they actually arrived and anchored in the Firth of *Leith*; but, Sir *George Byng* at the ſame Time arriving with a conſiderable Fleet from *England*, they thought fit to make their Eſcape inſtantly, without doing any other Damage, that I remember, than frightning the old Woman, and Children, and throwing the City of *Edinburgh* all under Arms, in the greateſt Hurry and Confuſion, for ſome Days.

I HAVE ſince been told by Captain *Robert Maynard*, a Gentleman of undoubted Veracity, that he was one of Admiral *Byng*'s Lieutenants in that Expedition,

and

and that they arrived within a few Leagues of the Firth long before Dark, came to Anchor, and ſo continued till Morning; when he, being Lieutenant of the Morning-watch, at Day-dawn eſpy'd in Shore eight Sail, *&c.* On which, being pretty certain it was the *French* Squadron, and very deſirous to carry the firſt News to the Admiral, who was then a-ſleep, he made his Servant wake him; then told him, that he was ſure he had eſpied the *French* Squadron in Shore; "And in my "humble Opinion, by cutting our Ca-"bles, ſaid he, we are ſure of them; but "if we tarry to weigh Anchor, they muſt "eſcape." The Admiral in an angry Tone anſwered, "Go on Deck, Sir, and mind "your Watch; that's your Buſineſs." The Admiral ſtaid half an Hour and upwards, before he came upon Deck, and then ordered the Signal to be made for weighing Anchor; but, before they got under Sail, the *French* Squadron was gone ſure enough; except one ſtraggling Ship, that accidentally fell in with our Fleet, having my Lord *Middleton*'s two Sons an board.

MAY-

MAYNARD's telling this Story prevented his being made Captain during my Lord *Torrington*'s Life; and that this Escape was permitted with Design I have not the least doubt of, and that the Admiral was instructed accordingly: But the Reasons of State for it greatly surpass my Understanding, I can only say, the great Lord *Godolphin*, who was as *good* as he was *great*, then steered the Helm of *Great Britain*, and doubtless could sufficiently answer for all his Actions.

AFTER their Departure, there were a great many Lords and Commoners of *Scotland* taken up on Suspicion, but all ended in nothing but Quietness; and I must say, that, by all that ever I could learn from History, or by the frequent Opportunities I had afterwards of conversing freely with the *Jacobite* Party in *France*, I do verily believe, that *France* (but don't presume to enforce it on others for Truth) never had any real Friendship for, or Design of serving the late King *James*, or any of his Posterity, farther than to

make *Tools* of them, ſubſervient to their own perfidious Views.

I HAVE heard ſome Politicians, even of the firſt Rank, ſay, "That it was no "Diſadvantage to the Nation in general "to have a *Pretender*, as it muſt always "keep the *King* to his good Behaviour; "and that ſuch immenſe *Treaſure*, in the "publick Funds, is a ſufficient Pledge "for the Subjects *Allegiance*." This muſt be on Suppoſition, that the Remedy don't prove worſe than the Diſeaſe; tho' I did never believe, notwithſtanding there's a large Premium on the *Pretender*'s Head, that any Man of common Underſtanding was ever deſirous of carrying off that Prize.

AFTER ſtaying two Years in *Edinburgh*, I went to *Holland*; where I ſtudied three Years under the famous Profeſſor *Boerhaave*, at *Leyden*; there I had no Diverſion from my Studies, having four Colleges to attend every Day under my *Profeſſor*; one for the *Theory*, another for the *Practice* of *Phyſick*, one for the *Chemiſtry*, and

and one for *Botany*: This laſt I made little or no Proficiency in, as I never had any Taſte that way, and only knew the *Diſpenſary* Herbs, that were daily in our Hands. I had a College for *Anatomy* under *Joannes Jacobus Rau*, who was recommended to us Students by Dr. *Boerhaave*, as a very expert *Anatomiſt*; one alſo for Hiſtory, under perhaps the beſt Hiſtorian then in *Europe*, *Perizonius*. Now I applied cloſe to my Studies, for I took Pleaſure in them; and only ſometimes in Vacancy Time took a Trip to the *Hague* *Utrecht*, and *Amſterdam*, where we let the Reins looſe a little; but that was ſoon over. One Particular however, I cannot forget; my Lord *Strafford*, who was then Queen *Anne*'s Ambaſſador extraordinary in *Holland*, ſent his Maſter of the Horſe to *Leyden*, to invite all the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Gentlemen there, to dine with him at the *Hague*; and, the Day being come, almoſt all went, which, I muſt own, was a very odd ſort of a Medley. The Morning of the Day appointed accidentally met, at *Rozelli*'s Coffee-Houſe at the

Hague, my Lord *S***** Meſſ. *Webb*, *Montain*, *Harvey*, *Haldane*, &c. and myſelf, who were all in the ſame Way of thinking as to Politicks, when we began to reflect, that this Invitation happened to be on the 10th of *June*: However, we all went to Dinner, and placed ourſelves in a Body together at Table, where we had a moſt elegant Entertainment to a crowded Company. My Lord *Strafford* was at *Utrecht*, therefore my Lady entertained us, making a proper Apology for her Spouſe's Abſence. After Dinner, every one having a full Bottle and Glaſs before him, my Lady roſe up from her Chair, filled, and ordered a Bumper round, and drank the King's Health, which was greedily ſwallowed by many; but my Lord *S***** was pleaſed to take notice to her Ladyſhip, "That he knew "no King of *Britain* at preſent, and "there was none of *Holland*;" and immediately turned about to his Company below him, drank his Glaſs, made a Bow, went off, and was followed by fourteen or fifteen of us; nor did we return in the

the Evening to the Ball, but met at *Rozelli*'s by ourſelves, with an *Hanoverian* Gentleman, an Acquaintance of my Lord's, where we enjoyed our own Toaſts and Converſation; and the Peace of *Utrecht*, being then upon the Anvil, and in a fair Way of being concluded, we then had the Pleaſure of hearing Lord *S*****'s Sentiments of that *Peace*, tho' very young, yet juſt appearing in the World, with a moſt bright *Genius*, fine natural Parts, a very lively Penetration, and indeed all the Prognoſticks of the *Great Man* about him, which I hope he'll end in, when he has it in his Power to rectify the Miſtakes, according to his own Prophecy at that Time, of the fatal Conſequences of that *Peace*; and, in the whole Courſe of my Life, I never paſſed ſo an agreeable Night's Converſation.

OF all that Company his Lordſhip and I were the only ſurviving Perſons to ſee that Prophecy fulfilled, the greateſt *Feaupas* of Mr. *Harley*'s Miniſtry, as it was the Baſis of all the reſt of their deſtructive Schemes, almoſt to the utter Ruin of the

whole

whole Nation, at ſuch a critical Time, when they had it in their Power to have a *Chart-blanc* from *France*, to fill up with their own Terms; but by the moſt providential Accidents, the Queen's Death in *England*, and the Duke of *Orleans*'s Regency in *France*, the very Articles that were deſigned for the Service of the *Pretender*, only as a *Blind* for the People, retorted upon themſelves with double Force; as appears in one of my Lord *Stair*'s Memorials to the Duke Regent, preſented by his Lordſhip on the 9th of *March*, 1716, *N. S.* wherein his Lordſhip repreſents, in the Name of his Royal Maſter, King *George* I. on account of that *unnatural Rebellion*, raiſed againſt him at the very Beginning of his Reign in the Year 1715.

" THE King of *Great Britain*, and the " Nation, thought themſelves very ſafe on " the Side of *France*, by the ſolemn " Treaty of *Utrecht*, which for ever ex- " cludes the *Pretender* from *France*, and " obliges *France* to give him no Succours, " nor Ships, nor Arms, nor Ammunition,

" nor

" nor Money, nor Officers, nor Soldiers,
" nor Counſel directly or indirectly,
" *&c.*"

THE Regent of *France* hearkened to theſe Repreſentations, I dare venture to ſay, better than *old Louis* would have done, had he been alive, only to ſerve his *own Turn*, by the Renunciation of the Monarchy of *Spain*'s being united with *France* under one King, one of the Articles of that Treaty of which his *Houſe* was to reap the Benefit: But the real Sentiments, and very Soul of the Court of *St. Germain* diſcloſed itſelf in that Declaration the *Pretender* publiſhed in that unnatural Rebellion in the Year 1715, dated at *Crò-mercy* in *Lorain*, reprinted and publiſhed at *Perth* in *Scotland*, whilſt he was there, wherein he ſays,

" DURING the Life of our dear Siſter
" of glorious Memory, the Happineſs
" which our People enjoyed, ſoftened in
" ſome Degree the Hardſhip of our own
" Fate; and we muſt further confeſs,

" that when we reflected on the Good-
" neſs of her Nature, and Inclination to
" Juſtice, we could not but perſuade
" ourſelf, that ſhe intended to perpetuate
" the Peace which ſhe had given to theſe
" Kingdoms, by deſtroying for ever, all
" Competition to the Succeſſion of the
" Crown, by ſecuring to us, at laſt, the
" Enjoyment of that Inheritance, out of
" which we had been ſo long kept, which
" her Conſcience muſt inform her was
" our Due, and which her Principles
" muſt bend her to deſire that we might
" obtain.

" BUT ſince the Time that it pleaſed
" God to put a Period to her Life, and
" not to ſuffer us, to throw ourſelf, as
" we then fully propoſed to have done,
" upon our People, we have not been
" able to look upon, *&c.*"

I CAN no more judge of the *Genius* and Temper of the *Dutch*, than if I had never lived amongſt them; for I knew no *Dutchmen*, but my Profeſſors; but, if I

am

am allowed to take Dr. *Boerhaave* for a Sample of the whole, I do ſay, that he was the moſt extraordinary Man of his Age perhaps in the whole World; a clear Underſtanding, ſound Judgment, with Strength of Memory that nothing could exceed, and indefatigably laborious: It is true, he had not that Brightneſs of Invention, that ſome Authors may have; but with theſe his Talents he has done more Service to the World in the Knowledge of *Phyſick*, than all his Predeceſſors in the whole World put together; by digeſting a huge Heap of Jargon and indigeſted Stuff into an intelligible, regular, and rational Syſtem. Happy it was for *Medicine!* when this great Man firſt ſet out in the Study of *Divinity*; that his very firſt Attempts were to purge that Profeſſion from its myſterious and ſuperſtitious Errors, which met with great Oppoſition even in *Holland*, and his beſt Friends thought it a Stroke too bold and dangerous for him to attempt to reform, and adviſed him to change his Profeſſion of *Divinity* into *Phyſick*

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THIS is the Time of my whole Life that gives me the moſt Pleaſure on Reflexion; for I was under no Difficulties, I kept within bounds, and my Mother ſupplied me with Money. After paſſing three Years in *Holland* I took my Degree of *Doctor of Phyſick*, with the Approbation of my Profeſſor, and ſet out for *France*, by Way of *Flanders*, in Company with Meſſ. *Webb* and *Pollock*. When we arrived at *Antwerp* the Great Duke of *Marlborough* was there, and, though out of his Command of the Army, we paid our Reſpects to his Grace every Morning at his Levee, as *every* true *Briton* was in Duty bound.

WHEN we arrived at the Army in *Flanders*, where the Duke of *Ormond* commanded in chief, whom none of us ever had the Honour of ſeeing there, which was taken notice of by ſome of the principal Officers; but it was quite a Matter of Indifference to us, who had no Dependance, nor nothing to aſk of any one there.

How-

HOWEVER, we paſſed away about ſeven Weeks in the Army and Towns in *Flanders*, and ſoon after arrived at *Paris*, the End of our then intended Journey. The Peace of *Utrecht* was not then concluded, but all *Britiſh* Subjects were received in *France*, more eſpecially at Court, with Favour. The very firſt Night I met with a very comical Adventure; being a Stranger in Town, I ſent for one *Bogle*, an old School-fellow of mine, well-acquainted in that City, who carried me to *Gregoir*'s Coffee-houſe, and from thence to the Tavern, where we were a good many in Company, all *Britiſh:* At laſt, being pretty well heated with Wine, about Midnight Lord *Riccarton* aſked *Bogle*, "If he "would go to *Le Cours de la Reine?*" *Bogle* excuſed himſelf, and introduced me to his Lordſhip, as a proper Diverſion for me as a Stranger; away we went in his Lordſhip's Chariot about one o'Clock in the Morning; that Diverſion being held in a ſhady Grove, upon the Banks of the River *Seine*, a good Way beyond the *Lou-*

vre,

ure, ſo that we had near three Miles to ride. By the Way, aſking his Lordſhip the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Diverſion, he told me, it was a Concourſe of Ladies and Gentlemen, the beſt Company at *Paris*, by Way of *Aſſembly*, where there were Muſick, Dancing, regaling with Sweet-meats, Wine, *&c.* and that I might pick out any Lady I pleaſed for a Partner that was not engaged: "And the *French* "Ladies, ſaid he, are ſo very complaiſant "never to refuſe, eſpecially Strangers."

WE arrived at the Place which was very finely illuminated indeed with Flambeaux, and a very handſome *Aſſembly* of Ladies and Gentlemen, all genteelly and richly dreſs'd: My Lord very ſoon left me, made a Bow to a Lady, and ſhe came tripping into his Hand. Several Gentlemen came in after us, and followed my Lord's Example with the ſame Succeſs; but I took a turn or two up and down by myſelf, for, as I was left to my Choice, I was reſolved to have a pretty Partner.—I fixed, ſtood at a little Diſtance, made my

my Bow, and the Lady came frankly up to me; she soon perceived I was a Stranger, and asked me a thousand Questions; and I understood so much of the *French* Language as to know what she said, and answer so as to be understood by her; for I lodged in a *French* House whilst I was in *Holland*.—I rattled away, being heated with Wine, and the Lady was exceeding complaisant, and good-humour'd: We danced, we laughed, we retired to regale ourselves with Sweet-meats, Wine, *&c.* She allowed me Freedoms, that would not be permitted amongst modest Ladies any where but amongst the *free, gay French*.—In short, I thought myself blest in a Partner, and *cock-sure*; 'till, luckily for me, there passed a *Leyden* Acquaintance, with his Partner in his Hand, and said to me in *English* without stopping:—"I see you; "take care what you are about; for, if "you push Affairs too far, you will be "disgracefully turned out of Company."—This cooled my Courage a little, and the Lady observed the Alteration, and asked me over and over what my Countryman

tryman ſaid to me?——I told her, he only gave me a Welcome to *Paris*. However, ſhe continued as gay and as free as ever, and carried me Home to her Houſe in her Chariot; and told me, "I might take "this Houſe for my own, and all that "was in it, and hoped I would make "uſe of it as ſuch, whilſt I was at *Paris*:" And then ſent me to the *Hôtel*, where I was to lodge, in her Chariot, with a proper Direction to find her Houſe again.

IT is impoſſible to imagine what an Amaze I was in. I went to-bed, and revolved in my Mind what had paſſed; for I could not ſleep for the Thoughts of it: Sometimes I took it for mere *Romance*; at others conceited, I had got into a new World, that I could not poſſibly have formed any Idea of, for I had not then ſeen *London*. In ſhort, it is the *Genius* of the People, as widely different, from all other Nations that I have ſeen, as if they were not the ſame Species of Mankind: But the *Genius* of a Nation appears, in the moſt lively and natural Colours, amongſt the Commonalty in *Low-life*, wherein there's

there's little or no Diſſimulation: I remember I was one Day in *Gregoir*'s Coffee-houſe, over againſt the Play-houſe, *Rue de Comedie*, in *Paris*, when two Gentlemen, after the Play, agreed to ſup together; each of them had his Chariot, with a great Number of Servants in fine laced Liveries attending. The Gentleman who was to entertain carried the other along with him in his Chariot, all the Servants following, the Gentleman's Servants of the Chariot paid the Compliment to the Stranger's Servants, who ſhould mount the Back of the Chariot firſt, in the mean Time the Chariot was driving away at a great Rate, in a very dirty Street, whilſt theſe Fellows, about a Dozen of them, running after the Chariot, were adjuſting their Ceremony. *Montez vous Monſieur: Non Monſieur*; *Montez vous Monſieur! Je vous en prie? Non Monſieur, vous me faites bien de l'honeur! Monſieur l'honeur eſt de mon coté: Monſieur je ſuis bien obligé: Monſieur, votre ſerviteur tres humble.* And ſo they went on 'till the Chariot had drove at leaſt half a Mile, before they

they adjusted the Ceremony of mounting the Back of the Chariot, more bedawbed with Dirt than Silver-lace. *A true Emblem of that superficial, volatile Nation.*

I LIVED two or three Months at *Paris* without having the least thought of Business, and went into all the Gayeties of the Town; *Assemblies*, *Opera's*, *Plays*, &c. and, as all the World games there, I chanced to get two or three lucky Hits; which putting me above the common Rank for some Time, I hired a *Carose de Remise*, and spent my Money with as much Ease, and as little Thought as I had got it: But this did not last long; I began to think of what I came to *France* for, my principal Design having been to get into the *Salle des Accouchments de l'Hôtel-Dieu.* This is an Institution founded by *Louis* XIV, and perhaps one of the best in the World, calculated as well consistent with Policy as Charity. In this large and convenient Hospital, *Hôtel-Dieu*, there are two very large Halls set a-part for receiving Women with-Child.

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THE Manner of which is thus, all Women in that Condition of whatever Nation or Religion, within a Month or six Weeks of her Time of Delivery, are there received, maintained, and well accommodated with all Necessaries, at the King's Charge, 'till they are brought to-bed, and entirely recovered from Child-bed. Yet we did not take their Words for the Time of their Pregnancy; but, as we had other certain Signs of knowing it, they were all reviewed one by one, before we received them; and those that had any foul Distemper were separated from the rest, and taken care of in an Apartment by themselves, called *Sale des Gatés*; for the Charity was universal and noble, for the Relief of all that applied in such Distress, which sufficiently entitled them, without asking any Questions for their Reception. If they have a-mind to carry their Child away they may; for, when perfectly recovered, it is left to their Option, whether they will leave the Child, or no. If they do, it is carried, with a proper Certificate of *Baptism*, to *l'Hôtel de l'Infant-*

trouver, where it is carefully nurſed and brought up at the King's Charge, a proper Nurſery for 10,000 Children, with all manner of Neceſſaries and Conveniencies. This *Policy*, not to mention the *Charity*, was ſoon obvious to every body, but eſpecially to old *Louis le Grande*, who, by his ambitious Views and Enterprizes, almoſt laid his Country waſte, through the deſtructive and devouring Arm of War; but by this Means he had always a freſh Supply of 10,000 growing up. This is not only a Nurſery for *Children*, but a Seminary for educating and inſtructing *Midwives*, who muſt all be ſtrictly examined before they profeſs Midwifry, which alſo ſaves 10,000 more Children from being murdered by the Hands of unſkilful Midwives. Of what great Benefit and univerſal Charity muſt ſuch an *Hoſpital* as this be to Mankind in general, by preventing the Death of an almoſt innumerable Number of innocent Children not only thro' Ignorance of Midwives, but for fear of Ignominy, and Want of the Mothers, (Caſes that daily

happen

happen in *London* for want of such an Hospital) and of what infinite Advantage in particular might it be, by saving and consequently raising such an additional Number, and Strength of Hands, to this grand trading Nation, the Mart, as I apprehend, of the World: And as I have lived to see it accomplished in part, by erecting a *Foundling Hospital*, I hope to live to see the whole grand Work completed; under the Direction of such Gentlemen of undoubted Honour and Integrity as hitherto have had the Direction of this new Hospital: For of all Charities this is one of the greatest and most useful.

WHEN I was in the *Hôtel-Dieu*, I delivered a very beautiful young *English* Lady of her first Child; who, I fancy, never forgot the handsome and mannerly Treatment she met with in that *Hospital*: From thence she retired, with her Child, as secretly as she entered without the least Suspicion either of her Person or Quality, intirely recovered from Child-bed of a beautiful Boy.

HOWEVER trifling it may seem to be, for a Graduate to get into this *Hospital*, there's a great deal of Interest required to accomplish it. Lady *Anne Drummond*, Daughter of the Earl of *Melfort*, married into our Family, by whom and her Relations in *Scotland*, I was warmly recommended to the Lords *Perth*, and *Melfort*; Dukes they call'd them in that Country. The old Lord *Melfort* indeed was dead, before I arrived, but he had left an Heir and Representative: Nevertheless I pinned myself to my Lord *Perth*'s Sleeve, who pretended to have great Interest at Court; (and his Nephew, my Lord *Melfort*, told me he had) and my only Request was for the King's Order to get into this Hospital; but, I having been shuffled off from Week to Week for almost Nine Months, at last grew very uneasy about it; and one Day, as I was pressing his Grace very hard, and setting forth the Inconveniencies of my staying so long in *France*, he asked me, *If I did not design to go Home with the King*. For, said he, the King goes Home this Year for certain. This was

the

the laſt Year of Queen *Anne*'s Reign) I readily anſwered, " I had no Concern " with Kings; I came to *France* in Pro- " ſecution of my Buſineſs that I muſt get " my Bread by, or ſtarve; and, if he " could not ſerve me in this Affair, I " was heartily ſorry I had ſtaid ſo long." So I made my Bow, and came off, not a little diſpleaſed.

I USED to go to *St. Germain en laye* once in a Week, or fourteen Days at fartheſt; and he lived in the Caſtle with the late King *James*'s Dowager. I always was admitted to his Table with great Freedom of Converſation, and I do declare upon my Honour, " That " the more I heard of their Converſation, " the greater Averſion and Abhorrence I " had to their Schemes and Meaſures; and " I am ſure there was no Intereſt to biaſs " me, one Way or t'other, further than " my own Opinion and Inclination."

I MUST obſerve one Particularity amongſt them, they never drank my Lord

Oxford's Health; but the reſt of Queen *Anne*'s Miniſtry, *Ormond*, *Hamilton*, *Bolingbroke*, *Strafford*, Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, Sir *William Windham*, (with this Exception provided that he was not my Lord *Oxford*'s Man) *cum multis aliis*, (whom I ſhall not preſume to mention here, as ſome of them never were ſuſpected, at leaſt they never did diſcover themſelves to be of ſuch Principles) went glibly down; and their firſt Toaſt always was, Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*.

THE Caſtle-gates were always locked up at nine o'Clock at Night preciſely, when his Grace of *Perth* went to his Devotion: (For he was much better adapted for a *Clergyman* than a *Stateſman.)* Then I retired to the Tavern with the Officers of the Court, Colonels, Majors, Captains in abundance, *&c.* where we had all the Politicks ſecond-hand without Reſtraint. I have heard my Lord of *Oxford*'s Health propoſed among them too, and always rejected, with their Reaſons for it; *in vino veritas*, and we uſed to tope it about merrily!

merrily ! I did really believe he was a Clog to their Measures, whether through Fear of bad Success in their Schemes, or from Principles of Love and Affection to his Country I shall not presume to determine ; but I could easily learn, from the Conversation of the Court of *St. Germain*, that the Earl was no great Favourite there, which was afterwards fully confirmed to me, when I went to *London* ; for, if Queen *Anne* had lived a few Months longer, they had certainly carried their designed Measures into Execution.

THE Queen had made choice of a *Ministry* to her Liking, ready and willing to execute the concerted Designs ; the *Army* and *Navy* were new modelled for the Purpose of obeying Orders : The *Pretender*'s Attainder was to be taken off by Act of Parliament, and he was to reside at the Palace of *Holy-rood-house* in *Scotland*, 'till a proper Juncture offered for the Queen to resign her Crown in his Favour. The more moderate of them were only for declaring him, and his Heirs,

Succeſſors to the Queen: But my Lord of *Oxford*, who was a Man of very great Penetration, foreſeeing the diſmal and fatal Inconveniencies that muſt neceſſarily accrue to *Great Britain*, from ſuch a great Convulſion of State, by the Oppoſition it muſt have undoubtedly met with from the *Whigs*, with all the direful Conſequences of a *Civil War*; and, by his Lordſhip's Policy and Stratagems, I do verily believe, (but I don't want to impoſe my Belief on others) that the Execution of this Project was at leaſt retarded, whilſt he ſteered the Helm: But, before it pleaſed the *Almighty Hand of Providence* to interpoſe by the *Death* of the Queen, the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord High-Treaſurer of *Great Britain*, was actually turned out of all his Employments, in order to make way for the Execution of their Deſigns: And I learnt, from the Converſation and Intimacy of a Gentleman of ſtrict Honour, great Integrity and Credit, the Queen's Phyſician in Ordinary, and her great Favourite and Confident,

"That

" That her Majesty was very warmly in-
" clined to this Project."

THEN I retired from *St. Germain*, and resolved never to visit the Duke of *Perth* any more. During this Interval the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Queen *Anne*'s Ambassador in *France*, put one Mr. *Clayton* into the *Hôtel-Dieu*; and some Months after my Lord *Melfort* sent for me, and told me, that the Duke of *Perth* had got me an Order, which he delivered to me: So that I returned to *St. Germain* to thank his Grace.

UPON this I at last succeeded Mr. *Clayton* in the *Sale des Accouchments de l'Hôtel-Dieu*, where I met with more laborious and fatiguing Business than any I ever had in the Course of my Life; every twenty-four Hours, *communibus diebus*, we brought about ten Children into the World, and there were only four *Midwives* and myself to go thro' all, Night and Day, we were always employed; and I continued in this Hospital four Months, without

without ſetting my Foot out of it four times. This is the only Place, for thorough Inſtruction in this Buſineſs; I brought near three hundred Women to-bed in the Time, and every one of the four Midwives in Proportion: So that we had Caſes of all Sorts; we aſſiſted one another, and had a Miſtreſs Midwife who directed the Whole; and, in very extraordinary Caſes, we called in the Maſter-ſurgeon of the Hoſpital's Aſſiſtance. This Hoſpital is ſerved, in the meaneſt, ſervile Work, even to cleaning the Cloſe-ſtools, by *religious Nuns*, of the very beſt Families in *France*, and none but ſuch can wait there, which makes them better and cleaner than in any other.

PARIS is certainly the beſt Place for learning the *practical* Part of *Anatomy* and *Surgery*, from the frequent Opportunities of ſeeing Chirurgical Operations of all Sorts perform'd in the Hoſpitals; and the King has ordered, that every Body of thoſe that dies in the *Sale Petrier* (a very large Hoſpital for the Reception of the *Poor*) ſhould

ſhould be ſubjected to *Anatomical Diſſection*, for the Improvement of *Phyſick* and *Surgery*: And I do own the *French* to be more dextrous and expert Operators in Surgery and Cutters in Anatomical Diſſection, (I ſpeak in general) than any I have ſeen: But as for their *Theory*, that I did not want.

WHILST I was in *France*, at my moſt expenſive Time, I drew too largely on my Mother, who was very loath to proteſt my Bills; but wrote to me of the Straits and Inconveniences I had put her to; and I anſwered, "That I was in a *Popiſh* Coun-"try, amongſt ſome *Scotch* Relations who "were all *Papiſts*; and if ſhe would al-"low me to turn *Papiſt*, I could live up-"on one half of the Money I then ſpent." The good, honeſt, old Lady, with the greateſt Sincerity and Truth, adviſed me, for God's Sake, "to continue in the *true* "*Faith*; for ſhe would ſtrip to the "Smock, rather than I ſhould turn *Pa-*"*piſt*."

BUT

BUT, alas! unlucky Fate! there I received the melancholy News of her Death; I ſhall not preſume to enter into her Character, but only ſay without Partiality or Flatery, that ſhe had all the good Qualities requiſite to make a good Wife, and an affectionate Parent! *A Wonder!*

A Woman entirely without Guile!

which muſt be acknowledged by every body that knew her; and, for her Sake, I have always had a great Regard, Reſpect and Eſteem for the whole Sex. From her Death I may date my *adverſe Fortune.*

I HAD a Letter of Credit on Mr. *Gordon*, Banker in *Paris*, who ſupplied me with Money, and took my Bills on my Mother; I ſhewed him the melancholy Account of her Death; and told him, what little Money my Father had left me for my Patrimony was in the Hands of my Father's Executor, a Countryman and *Relation* of ours, in *London.* I even then foreſaw the Conſequences, and looked

looked a little dejected: On which Mr. *Gordon* said to me, in a very genteel, generous Manner, *'Never fear, Man! I'll advance you what Money you have occasion for here, and take my Venture on't.* Accordingly I took forty Pounds *Sterling* of him, and gave him my Bills for it on my Father's *Executor*; and, for his greater Security, I drew also on my Uncle *Craigends* in *Scotland* for the same Sum.

I THEN paid off what little Affairs I owed at *Paris*, and set out, by way of *Normandy*, for *London*. Mr. *Arbuthnot*, Merchant at *Roan*, received me very kindly, and gave me a very friendly Letter to his Brother, Dr. *Arbuthnot* in *London*. This Gentleman was pleased to favour me with an Intimacy in his Acquaintance, that was of very great Service to me: "He was a "Gentleman of great *Learning*, *clear* "*Head*, and *sound Judgment*; and, when- "ever he opened, most agreeable in *Con-* "*versation*." I lie under many Obligations to him, and nothing would give me more

more Pleaſure, than an Opportunity of making a grateful Return to any of his Poſterity or Friends. I did the laſt Office with a heavy Heart, of ſhutting his Eyes when he died; but *his Memory will live for ever with the World, and more particularly with me.*

WHEN I arrived in *London*, I ſent for my Relation; but he ſhunned talking any Thing of Buſineſs; yet invited me to his Houſe, at the ſame time telling me, that he let his Houſe out in Lodgings; ſo that I accepted his Invitation, on Condition of paying him for my Lodging. I was but a very ſhort Time there, before I ſaw how Things went, and how they were like to go; tho' he was very ſhy in ſpeaking to me about any of our Affairs. I ſoon learnt, that my Bills had been proteſted, both by this Relation, and my Uncle in *Scotland*; and very ſoon after the Man, in whoſe Hands my proteſted Bills were, came to my Lodging, dunned me very harſhly,

harſhly, threatned me with a Gaol, and, worſt of all, upbraided me with Ingratitude and Diſhoneſty, for uſing a Friend ſo baſely, who relieved my Neceſſities, in ſo genteel and generous a Manner, (a great Truth!) which wounded and cut me to the very Soul, and diſcompoſed and diſtracted my Mind in ſuch a Manner, that I was not capable of giving a regular Anſwer, or thinking of any Remedy how to extricate myſelf. I wrote to my Relations in *Scotland*, how I was circumſtanced, (which they knew well enough) with mean and low Expreſſions. They anſwered, "That I muſt have Recourſe to "our *Relation* in *London*, who had my "Patrimony in his Hands; for they owed "me no Money, and were ſorry for my "Misfortune."

OUR Relation had a great deal of the *inherent Scotch Pride*, which exerted itſelf in an inexpreſſible Stubbornneſs; he had involved himſelf with a Partner, who was but in middling Circumſtances, which

he

he did not know when they engaged in Partnerſhip. This at length hurt their Credit, which I could eaſily perceive, though my Relation would never open his Circumſtauces to me, when he really had 400 *l. Sterling* in his Hands, *one Third* which was mine: Whereas, if he had opened himſelf to me with Affection and Friendſhip, perhaps we might have fallen upon *Ways* and *Means* to have ſaved us both.

IN this great Diſtraction of Mind, I continued in his Houſe for ſome Months: Under theſe Dilemmas, without a Shilling in my Pocket, I did not know what Hand to turn to; and it was impoſſible for me to introduce myſelf to the Wurld, in the Character of a *Phyſician*, as I firſt deſigned. He looked upon me as an Eye-ſore, for having any Demand upon him; and I looked upon him as my Deſtroyer, for not anſwering my Demand; for he had given his Bond for the Money, to my Uncle *Craigends*, and that was aſſigned by him

him, as a Deed of Truſt, to me which I had now got into my Cuſtody: The Smoak increaſed into a Flame, and I left his Houſe at all Riſks.

I THEN got acquainted with Sir *David Hamilton*, the famous Man-midwife: I informed him of my Proficiency in *Midwifry* in the *Hôtel-Dieu*, (of which I had proper Certificates) and begged the Favour of his Countenance, to introduce me to what low Buſineſs he did not think worth his Acceptance. He begged to be excuſed, in his ſmooth and complaiſant Manner, by telling me, that he expected his Son from *Leyden*, whom he deſigned to introduce to his Buſineſs.

ONE Week's Countenance from him would have done my Buſineſs for ever; but Dr. *Douglas* told me, that he never did a good Office for any Man of his Profeſſion; but, on the contrary, did all he could to cruſh him in the Bud, when he was firſt appearing in the World. I ſo far agreed with Dr. *Douglas*, as to ſay, that I never

knew, or heard of any good Office Sir *David* had done in his Way of Buſineſs; and as he had extracted and amaſſed a great Fortune to himſelf, from bottomleſs Pits, (80,000 l. and upwards) ſo it was all ſunk in one Year, 1720, in the grand *South-Sea* Pit: And I dare venture to ſay, without extending my natural Vanity, that I knew full as much of the Buſineſs of Midwifry as the great Sir *David* did: I have ſome *Obſervations* of his, *de Cancro in Utero*, which he gave me to reviſe a ſhort Time before he died, he then deſigning to publiſh them. They might have been of ſome Uſe to the Publick, as he had great Practice and Experience in Women's Diſeaſes; but he ſeemed to be over credulous in his Cures, which, to my poor Underſtanding, appear to be only Palliatives; for I never knew a confirmed *Cancer* cured otherwiſe than by a radical Extirpation.

BEING reduced to the Difficulties of *Low-life*, I could not bear them, and was reſolved to embrace any deſperate Attempt that offered; but firſt to make a

Trip

Trip to *Scotland* to visit my Relations and Friends. Accordingly I went by *Sea*, for I could not find Money to carry me by Land: They received me indifferently well, advanced me a little Money, and desired me to stay amongst them and follow my Business as a *Physician*. On this ROCK I split again; for had they advanced me, at that Time, as much Money as to have set me up in an *Apothecary*'s Shop, (for they practise Physick in the primitive Way in *Scotland*, as Physician, Surgeon, and Apothecary) I had certainly got a very handsome Living among them, but they thought that below me, and so did I too; and a *young Physician* will not do at first; so that my Expences were more than my Income, tho' I did not live at all extravagantly, but genteelly, with good Oeconomy.

Vanity of Vanities!

LORD *Ormistone*, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and Lord Justice Clerk for *Scotland*, was then one of the principal and most active Managers in Government Affairs, for what they called

the *Squadronee* Party in *Scotland*, in Oppoſition to the Duke of *Argyll*'s Party This Gentleman was married to a firſt Couſin of mine, whom I had a more ſtrict Friendſhip, and perſonal Regard for than all the reſt of my Relations. I was reckoned one of their Family; my Lord, thro' the Inſtigation of his Lady, wanted to provide for me, in my Way, at Court, and I do believe he was in earneſt. Away I went to Court, recommended by him to the Dukes of *Montroſe* and *Roxbrugh*, the Earls of *Hadinton* and *Rothes*, and to his Son *John Cokburne*, Eſq; I was a mere Novice in this Affair, and did not well know what I wanted to be at. The *Rebellion* broke out in the Year 1715, when one Dr. *Hamilton*, recommended by his Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, was ſolliciting to be *Surgeon-general* to the Army in *Scotland*, I oppoſed him, and applied to my aforeſaid great Patrons, but afraid of bad Succeſs; and wrote to my Lord *Ormiſtone* accordingly. He ſent me a Letter to my Lord *Sunderland*, which did my Buſineſs in three

Days

Day's Time. I had a Warrant from Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*'s Office, to proceed immediately to his Majesty's Army in *Scotland*, and there to act as *Surgeon-general* to the Army, according to my Instructions, with a very handsome Sallary annexed to it, and ten Shillings a Day for travelling Charges. My Warrant was directed to his Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, Commander in Chief; and my recommendatory Letters to *Lieutenant-general Cadogan*. I posted down with all Expedition, stopped at *Edinburgh* with my Lord *Ormistone*, about an Hour or two; carried a Letter from him to General *Cadogan*, and arrived at the General's Quarters in the Camp near *Stirling*, just as he was ready to sit down to Dinner. I delivered my Letters, he read them, and told me, that I must wait on the *Captain General*, and shew him my Warrant; but, if I pleased I might dine first. I readily embraced the Offer, and sat down to a most elegant Dinner, in the midst of Frost and Snow; our Syllabubs were of *Frontiniac*, and all the Wines of the richest Sort, so that I did not

mind our Captain General one bit, till the General told me, now was the Time of waiting on his Grace. I got up, and went to *Stirling* Town, where his Grace's Head Quarters were. I waited in an outer Room for above two Hours, as cold as Death, without a Drop of Liquor; where I met with ſeveral Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, who ſeemed to take no notice of me, and I was even with them, equally regardleſs of 'em. At laſt one Mr. *Campbell* came out from his Grace to aſk my Buſineſs, which I told him. Some Time after, his Grace paſſed thro' the Room. I made up to him with my Warrant in my Hand, and he ſaid to me, without ſtopping, *I have heard, Sir, of you and your Warrant*; Cadogan *will take Care of you*; ſo I made the beſt of my Way to the Camp again. At Supper, General *Cadogan* aſked me, *If I had waited on his Grace the Duke of* Argyll? I anſwered, *Yes*; and told him to the minuteſt Circumſtance of what paſſed, and repeated the Words his Grace ſaid to me. On which General *Cadogan* ſaid, with a demure

mure Look, *Well, Sir, I will take Care of you.* In the mean Time he had taken very good Care of me, by providing me with a very handſome Tent pitched and completely fitted up, and I eat and drank as he did, moſt *luxurioufly*; I dare ſay there were more Horſes employed about his *Luggage*, than in his Majeſty's Train of Artillery.

SOON after the *Pretender* left *Perth*, where he was encamped, and fled from *Scotland*: *Cadogan* had early Notice of his Flight, even before the Duke of *Argyll*, and wrote the Diſpatch he ſent to Court on Horſe-back: For, notwithſtanding his luxurious Way of Living, he was a moſt laborious and indefatigable Soldier; for I don't remember ever to have ſeen him in bed whilſt the Camp was in the Field, nor he never ſlept above two Hours out of twenty four, with his Cloaths and Boots on in a Camp-chair. As ſoon as the *Pretender* was gone, and the Army ordered to decamp, his Grace of *Argyll* did me the Favour to ſcratch me off the Liſt with

his own Hand. I did not ſee it, but a Gentleman who was preſent told me ſo; and, when I told General *Cadogan* of it, he anſwered, *He* (meaning the Duke of *Argyll*) *can ſcratch you out of the Liſt for your travelling Charges, but not for your Salary, which is on the civil Liſt: I'll take care of that.* Yet, however it fell out, I never could get myſelf re-eſtabliſh'd neither for *Salary* nor *travelling Charges*, farther than for thoſe few Months I ſerved in the Army.

IT is impoſſible to imagine what Diviſions and Animoſities aroſe in the Army from theſe two Parties, *Argythelians* and *Squadronees*, (as they called them) and carried on with more Spite and Malice againſt one another, than againſt the adverſe Party of the *Rebels*, which was of great Detriment to his Majeſty's Intereſt. It was ſurmiſed in the Army, that General *Cadogan* had a private Commiſſion to ſuperſede the Duke of *Argyll* in the Command of the Army, if Things were carried to any Extremity. This Rumour was

ſpread

ſpread about, and did a great Deal of Hurt in the Army, almoſt to a Mutiny. How true it was I know not, nor, I dare ſay, no-body elſe, except himſelf: But my intimate Comrades of the Duke of *Argyll*'s Party, without any Falling-out, would not lift their Hats to me on meeting, which I deſpiſed as *ſilly* and *boyiſh*.

THIS is an epidemical Diſtemper, more common with the *Britiſh* than any other Nation I know of; from long Experience I have ſeen the fatal Conſequences of it, both in publick and private Undertakings; and I will venture to ſay, that all the Miſcarriages that have been made by the *Britiſh*, in my Remembrance, have been intirely, and only owing to the ridiculous Diviſions amongſt themſelves. All Foreigners know it, and frequently make uſe of it as a Handle to ſerve their own Deſigns. I could give innumerable Inſtances to my own certain Knowledge, but I forbear Particulars, and leave every one to their own Reflexion.

As

As soon as the Duke of *Aygyll* arrived in *London*, he was turned out from all his Employments at Court, and Posts in the Army with all his Adherents and Dependents, and their Posts were given to the *Squadronee Party*, with my Lord *Sunderland* at the Head of them; which Party had the Management of all the Affairs in *Scotland*, and Lord *Ormistone*, then Lord Justice Clerk, was one of the most active, and diligent amongst them, for executing the Business relating to the Forfeited Estates of those *Lords* and *Commoners* who had been in the *Rebellion*.

THE Duke of *Argyll* made a strong Party in *Scotland*, and opposed all their Measures, *right* or *wrong*; and, as his Party seemed to be on the merciful Side, it took and increased greatly in *Scotland*, so that they carried a great many of the Elections for Members of Parliament, and then his Grace push'd the Court, in his own Way, to make himself absolutely a necessary Man.

THIS

THIS great Nobleman was a lively Inſtance of *Scotch Pride* and *Ambition*; he would not ſubmit to or be controuled by any Man, if he could poſſibly help it, nor would he ſerve, or be ſerved in any other Way than his own: Yet he had as much *Honour*, as *Ambition* could allow of; and ſtrongly of *Cæſar*'s Opinion,

Aut CÆSAR, *aut* NULLUS.

I HEARD his *Grace* aver, in the Houſe of Lords, "That he durſt ſay, before "that *auguſt* Aſſembly, that, of all the "Employments and Stations he had had "under him, both at Court and in the "Army, under ſo many different Sove-"reigns, he never had, nor would, diſ-"poſe of any one for Money." I believe it to be a great Truth; but he diſpoſed of them with ſo much Prudence and Judgment, to neceſſary and uſeful Men, that would ſtand by him at all Hazards; ſo as to enable him, to make *himſelf* abſolutely neceſſary to a Court, and conſequently to carry his own Views and Deſigns; as the late great Lord *Godolphin* obſerved,

ſerved, *Of all the young Nobleman, he ever knew,* Argyll *had the keeneſt Appetite, and the quickeſt Digeſtion.*

ALL my Patrons were now in play, of all the Party Lord *Ormiſtone* was the moſt buſy, and very zealous in *ſuppreſſing* the *Rebellion*, and **oppreſſing** the *Rebels*; ſo that he became univerſally hated in *Scotland*, where they called him, *the Curſe of Scotland*; and when the Ladies were at Cards, playing the *Nine of Diamonds*, (commonly called, *the Curſe of Scotland)* they called it, *the Juſtice Clerk.* He was indeed of a hot Temper, and violent in all his Meaſures. I was then in great Friendſhip and Eſteem with his Lady, who was daily preſſing him to do ſomething for me at Court. I was ſo much eſteemed one of their Family, that it led me into Inconveniences; ſo that I could ſcarce Eſcape falling into Quarrels upon his Account; for I did not care to hear one abuſed, with whom I was in ſo ſtrict Friendſhip.

THEN

THEN away I went to Court again, recommended as formerly in very preſſing Terms (for now I was reckoned one of the Party, and a Sufferer on that Account) to my old Friends the Dukes of *Montroſe* and *Roxbrugh*, the Earls of *Hadinton* and *Rothes*, and *John Cokburne*, Eſq; I had likewiſe Letters from him to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and General *Cadogan*; (now Lord *Cadogan*) and I was overflushed with the Hopes of Succeſs; I wanted to be a *great Man*, but I did not know how. I was very kindly received by my *Scotch* Friends, had a general Invitation to their Houſes, and was always admitted with Freedom to their Table and Converſation: But, of all of them, my Lord *Hadinton* was my Choice: "He "was of a facetious Wit and Humour, "well-verſed in all modern Learning, and "the beſt-natured Man living: He was a "*Poet* too, having compoſed ſeveral *Po-* "*ems*, *Lampoons*, &c. for his own Amuſe- "ment, but never publiſhed: Some of "them were exceedingly well done, not "only according to my ſmall Judgment,

"but

" but of the beſt Judges:" For I have ſhewn ſeveral of them to Dr. *Arbuthnot*; and I ſpent ſo much of my Time with his Lordſhip, that I was diſtinguiſhed as Lord *Hadinton*'s Doctor.

TIME now ſlipt away very pleaſantly with me; for I was not at all anxious about what was to come, ſo I could only get Money to anſwer my preſent Expences; which I found Means to do, by running myſelf into about a 1000 *l.* in Debt, which I then look'd upon as a Trifle, tho' I had not one Shilling to pay it with, and took the Obligation to be done to thoſe I borrowed the Money of, as I retained a grateful Senſe of the Favour, and was fully reſolved to repay it, with double the Service, as ſoon as it was in my Power, which I never in the leaſt doubted of: And, during the whole Courſe of my *Life-time*, I have been ſtrongly of this Opinion, upon what Reaſon, or Foundation, God only knows; for, I am ſure, I do not know, nor no-body elſe; nay, I would not receive a Favour, or Obligation

tion from any one, that I had not a Regard and Eſteem for, but deſpiſed their Offer and held their Perſons in Contempt: This was ſetting myſelf up in Oppoſition to the far greateſt Part of Mankind; which could not but End in my Downfal; and I even then had ſuch a competent Knowledge of the World, as to know, that this was an imprudent and bad Way of managing Affairs; yet, in all the different Shapes of my Life, I never had it in my Power to break myſelf of this Foible, even when I was ſmarting ſeverely for its bad Conſequences:

Unalterable Nature! O Vanity!

To be ſure, never a young Fellow appeared at firſt in the World in better Company than I did; theſe Noblemen made a Companion of me, which introduced me to the very firſt and beſt Company in *England*; and I had *Vanity* enough to think that my Education had put me upon a Level, if not above them, in Converſation, and I would not ſacrifice my Opinion to the very beſt of them, upon no Conſide-

ration

ration whatever; neither *Prudence* nor *Intereſt* could induce me to it; the *very Rock* I again ſplit on; for the Frailties of human Nature are ſuch, not to bear *Contradiction*, eſpecially from thoſe in Dependence; even Lord *Hadinton*, who was the beſt-natured Man that ever lived, did not like Contradiction. In ſhort, I do really believe, had I been as careful, induſtrious, and deſirous of pleaſing the Word, as of *pleaſing myſelf in my own whimſical Humours*, I had a very fair Opportunity of getting above the World at this Time, in a very genteel Way, and conſequently prevented the many *Misfortunes* that afterwards attended me; but at that, or any other Time, I would ſacrifice my *Intereſt* to my *Joke*; for nothing but my *ſuperlative Vanity* made me loſe ground with my good-natured Lord *Hadinton*, and others; and, in the whole Courſe of my Years, I never could bring myſelf to any Thing that had the leaſt Tincture of *Flattery*, eſpecially to a Friend I regarded, and only to a Perſon I hated by way of *Irony*: Which has been ſome

Thou-

Thousands of Pounds out of my Way. And the greatest *Genius* in the World, that is not conducted by *Prudence*, must miscarry;

Nullum numen adest, si absit Prudentia.

So that I now began to lose Ground with the World, and perceived my Friends slighted me, by using me with less Freedom than formerly: But, instead of enquiring into the true Cause and amending, I repaid them, as near as I was capable of Judging, in their own Coin; and, so far from fawning, cringing, and flattering, I went on the other Extreme, by boldly (tho' imprudently telling them, that they used me ill, by feeding me with fair Promises, and doing nothing for me; at the same Time telling them a naked Truth, that the *Scotch Squadronee Party* had scarce Interest enough at Court to support themselves, they being near their *Downfall*, which happened very soon after: For his Grace the Duke of *Argyll* had got a strong Party in the *House of Commons*, which thwarted all the Court

Measures, and his Grace's Party thwarted the Designs and disconcerted all the Measures of the *Squadronee Party*, in such a manner, that they could not proceed any longer, especially in the dirty Part of them, without running the Hazard of raising the People into a *second Rebellion*. So the *Court* was now absolutely obliged to take his Grace into Play again upon his own Terms; and he soon got the Ascendency over the *Squadronees*, and used them accordingly. So, by Experience, I found that my *Genius* was not adapted to a *Court*, unless I could have been a Duke of *Argyll*, whose Method I liked dearly; but his Abilities were great.

BANK-STOCK now began to run low with me, and, as Duns increased, Credit sunk in Proportion; so that I was obliged to make use of all the Arts that my Invention could find out, to keep myself from sinking under the Weight of such a heavy Burden. I freely acknowledge, that I found out many Ways and Means, not intirely consistent with strict Honour and Honesty,

neſty, at the ſame Time I declare, that my Intentions were not to defraud any body of their juſt Right, but to ſave myſelf from immediate Deſtruction, that I might ſtand the Chance of being in a Capacity to extricate myſelf, and repaying all Favours with Honour and Gratitude. So that I was like a Man ſwimming for Life, who at the laſt Gaſp will lay hold of any Thing to keep himſelf from Drowning.

THIS Conduct was only again deceiving myſelf, which retorted upon myſelf at laſt with double Force. It requires indeed a great deal of Reſolution to *think in bad Circumſtances*; but not daring to think, and taking all Methods to *divert Thought*, is what precipitates many on one into immediate Ruin, which, upon mature Deliberation, might have been prevented.

TO preſerve the ſmall Remains of Credit I had left, I was obliged to keep up an outward Shew, an handſome Apartment in Town, (by the by within the *Verge of the Court*) a *Footman* in Livery,

going abroad genteelly dreſs'd now and then in a Chair, were abſolutely neceſſary; for any Signs of Poverty would have ſunk me immediately with the common People; for, tho' the *Tradeſmen* in *London* are more extenſive in their *Credit*, than any People in the World, they have no *Bowels* of Compaſſion, in regard to any Thing but their own Intereſt. I alſo had a Retirement in the Country near *London*, whither I uſed frequently to retreat with my *Houſekeeper*, to avoid *Duns*, *Arreſts*, &c. and, when I came to Town, I always kept the moſt expenſive Company: So that it was aſtoniſhing to every body, even to my Acquaintance, how I lived; for I followed no Buſineſs at that Time, and no body was privy to my Affairs; which confirm'd to me the old Maxim,

Neceſſity is the Mother of Invention, and has no Law.

For I played a thouſand lawleſs Tricks, by bribing and bilking *Bailiffs* and *Attorneys*, and, inſtead of holding me to Bail under an Arreſt, I made thoſe very Attorneys and Bailiffs perſuade their Clients to advance

vance me more Money on Bond, make up a Sum as they called it; but ſtill with an Intention to pay as ſoon as it was in my Power.

A MAN never exerts himſelf but when he is rouzed by his Deſires, and the ſtronger his Deſires, with the greater Force of Invention he exerts himſelf; for if he had no Deſires his Ingenuity and Abilities would lie dormant for ever: And thus *private Vices become publick Benefits*; for the Extravagancies of private Perſons, Seafaring and other ingenious, ſhifting People, drive them to ſeek after and fetch Riches, at a great Risk, from foreign Countries, which is all ſpent at Home, to the Publick's, more than their own private Benefit. I myſelf, in the Courſe I have run, have diſpoſed of at leaſt 20,000 l. in this Manner, which I have ſtated to Profit and Loſs: Therefore there's a much greater Art in *keeping* than in *getting* Money.

I PUT my Relation's Bond in Suit

againſt him, and, after a long and expenſive Suit, my *Lawyers* found him to be inſolvent: When I would not allow them to diſtreſs his Perſon, they came upon me for the whole Coſts at once, and diſtreſſed my Perſon.

THE Attorney I employed took out a Warrant to arreſt me in a very treacherous and villainous Manner; for he invited me to his Houſe in great Friendſhip, and arreſted me at his own Table; upon which I ſtuck him, got off, and was obliged to abſcond for ſome Months, till the Fellow recovered, and I got the Affair made up; but it proved the moſt troubleſome I had ever met with at that Time. In ſhort, if I was to repeat all that paſſed in this Scene of my Life, it would make a very good *Tragi-comical Farce.*

WHILST I was at the Height of my whimſical and humorous Pleaſures, I had three different Lodgings in different Parts of this great Metropolis, (the Inhabitants as widely different from one another, as if they

they were not the ſame Nation) and three different Suits of Cloaths; one very fine for the Court, another grave for the City, the third a Footman's Dreſs: I adapted myſelf to the Humours of my Company, according to my Dreſs, tho' perhaps not to Perfection, yet greatly to the Satisfaction of my own Fancy.

There's a Pleaſure in being mad, that none but Madmen know.

DURING theſe Embroils, there was a Gentleman in *London*, an intimate Acquaintance of mine, who knew the Place of my Retirement, and the Gauſe of it, came down into the Country to ſee me. Talking freely of my Affairs, he run out in Commendation of *George Middleton*, Banker in the *Strand*, (whom I knew very well) as a good-natur'd, friendly Man: "And, ſaid he, if you would apply to him, "I dare ſay he would aſſiſt you with "a little Money." I pauſed a little, but ſaid nothing; and, when he was taking leave of me, he again ſaid, "Try *Middle-*"*ton.*" On revolving my anxious Thoughts

within myſelf, I came to a Reſolution to try him: So I ventured up to Town, huddled myſelf up in a Chair, and waited on Mr. *Middleton*. After a little Converſation, I broke the Affair to him, he look'd demure and ſhy on me, (at leaſt I thought ſo) and then ſaid, "I ſhould be glad to "do you any little Service in my Power; "but Money is hard to be got now-a-days "but, if it is only a little you want, I will "ſerve you, and you may draw on me "by the Hands of the above-mentioned "Gentleman;" (naming him.) So I took my Leave, and away I went to this Gentleman's Chambers in the *Temple:* My firſt Draught was for 100 *l.* which was accepted; and I left the Management of all my Affairs to this Gentleman, who was a very clever Fellow, and a faſt Friend.

By this Time the *ſtuck Attorney* was quite out of Danger, being Abroad, and they were negociating how to make up the whole Affair with him: So I retired again into my Baniſhment, where I had Leiſure enough to reflect on the Follies of my

my miſpent Time: But to divert theſe melancholy Thoughts, I amuſed myſelf by writing a *Play*, and called it,

Money, the Emperor of the World!

repreſenting the *Emperor* ſitting on a Throne of great Magnificence, and by him placed a capacious Machine, in form of a Cone, with the Baſe upwards, reaching and opening to the Cieling of the Houſe, to which was joined a Wheel, and by turning this Wheel there was to come down a continual Flow of *Money*, from an inexhauſtible Source. The whole World is addreſſing his Imperial Majeſty by Turns; Kings, Courtiers, Divines, Lawyers, Phyſicians, and Tradeſmen: At a Diſtance was placed a great Multitude of the Populace; all, from the King to the Cobler, harangue this *grand Monarch* to ſerve their different Views and Deſigns in their own Way. But the whole at laſt appears to be mere Deluſion, and all ends in the ſame ultimate Deſign, *abſolute Obedience to his Imperial Majeſty*, MONEY!

THOUGH it is true, that,

Totus Mundus agit Hiſtrionem.

Yet, if my Underſtanding had been much better than it really was, it was impoſſible for me at thoſe Years to enter into Men and Things, ſo as to be equal to ſo great a Taſk; for it is certain the whole World aim and drive at one and the ſame *grand Point*; but there are ſuch an infinite Number of *Ways and Means* of endeavouring to arrive at the *grand Point*, and ſo many Struggles and Difficulties lie in the Way of gaining it, that few or none ever come completely to the End of their Courſe, ſo as to be able to hit the *Mark fully*, which is the Cauſe of ſuch a ſtupendious Variety amongſt Mankind: As for Example.

MONEY begets *Power* without Limitation; and *He* that has the moſt *Power* is the *greateſt Man*; and conſequently this *Emperor* of ours is the *greateſt* of all, he is *Commander in Chief*, and the Grandeur of the reſt only depends on the Proportion they bear of his Favour.

THIS

THIS over-bearing *grand Monarch* invades and ſwallows up at once, by ſuperior Force, his neighbouring Monarchs, who all had the ſame Views that he had,

Kings never want Pretences for War!

and diſpoſſeſſes them of their Dominions, and conſequently diſappoints them of their Aim, and enſlaves Millions more of his Fellow-creatures for his own Subjects: So this is reckoned a *great*, *victorious*, and *glorious Emperor*; whereas, in reality, he is a *vile*, *abominable*, and *abhorrible Oppreſſor*, a Nuſance to Mankind, the Bane and Peſt of Society: And the more Stratagems and Deceit the *Generals* uſed, who executed his Orders and Deſigns, the ſooner they were allowed to be the *greateſt Generals* of the Age; but more deſervedly they ought to be called, the *greateſt Monſters* of Wickedneſs and Rapine. For, as one Murder by the Laws of Society deſerves Death, Thouſands deſerve a thouſand Times worſe; yet theſe *Diveſters* are the *Idols* of the World; and *All*, *All*, *All* pay *paſſive Obedience*, and *Non-reſiſtance*

to

to this *great King of Kings*, univerſal Monarch, and abſolute Emperor of this World, as well in *Eccleſiaſtical* as in *Civil* and *Military* Affairs.

IN War there's only one Side guilty, 'tother is lawful, by the firſt and ſtrongeſt Law of Nature, *Self-defence*. The judicious Hiſtorian, M. *de Rapin* ſays, "It is "a lamentable Thing, that *Ambition*, "by which Princes are inclined to invade "the *Property* of others, ſhould paſs in "the World for a *Virtue*, *(which is really "a Vice)* and that an Hiſtorian, by Rea- "ſon of Men's depraved Notions, ſhould "not dare to repreſent it in its true Co- "lours; ſince, generally ſpeaking, they "are your ambitious Princes, that are ho- "noured with the Sirname of *Great*."

THAT is to ſay, in ſhort, that theſe are juſt ſuch Princes as we have deſcribed our *grand Monarch*; only in a leſſer Degree according to their Abilities, Power and Authority, who, after having devoured the *leſſer*, are devoured themſelves by

by the *greater*; and our Author is ſorry, that he dare not tell you the Truth. From hence ſprings the Source of *Honour!* a very muddy Source indeed!

IN drawing thoſe Pictures, I always kept the Originals before me; ſo that ſome of the Speeches were almoſt *verbatim*; but, to perform ſuch a Work perfectly, requires the *greateſt Genius*, and a thorough Knowledge of the World, which I was no ways equal to; and, if there were any Beauties in it, they were entirely owing to ſome Strokes from Lord *Hadinton*'s Hand, who did me the Honour of viſiting me ſeveral times in my Baniſhment, which, I told him, was owing to the attractive Force of my Houſe-keeper, an humble Servant of his Lordſhip's. I gave this Performance to the Author of *Cato*'s *Letters*; for his Animadverſions, as the beſt Judge of a Performance of this Nature, and never enquired farther about it; for I ſoon got ſomething of more Conſequence to mind.

I LIVED in this Retirement near twelve Months, till the whole Affair was negotiated, and made up, which coſt me above 400 *l.* and Mr. *Middleton* advanced the Money: In all, he advanced me about 700 *l.* the moſt extraordinary Piece of Friendſhip that perhaps ever was heard of; I dare ſay not on his own Riſque, but at the Deſire of ſome *Friend*, or *Friends*, who ſecured the Money to him; but, from that Day to this, I could never learn, only gueſs'd, who were my Benefactors.

THIS was the moſt generous and endearing Friendſhip imaginable, to ſerve me effectually in my own Way, at a dead Lift, in ſo genteel and handſome a Manner; *True Friendſhip!* It is incredible to think of the various Ways I took to ſupport my daily Expences, which were conſiderable, and a great deal larger than my Income; and it is aſtoniſhing to think what large Sums of Money I have raiſed from Time to Time during the Courſe of my Life, upon very little or no Foundation; but I never ſtuck at any *Præmium*; tho' at other Times

Times my Credit has been ſunk ſo low, that I could not raiſe a *Shilling*. I always dreaded *Poverty* as ſhameful, and, when afflicted with it, have, with all imaginable *Artifice*, endeavoured to conceal it, to ſhun the Diſgrace attending it. I ever made the greateſt Show when pooreſt; I have ordered a Chair to carry me Home to my Lodgings, and, for Want of a Shilling in my Pocket to pay the Fare, have kept it a Month, till I could find Money to pay the whole off, ſometimes at the Expence of others, which at laſt diſcovered itſelf by meer *Neceſſity*, and retorted upon myſelf with double Force: Whereas, in reality,

POVERTY *is no* VICE, *nor* RICHES *any* VIRTUE.

As of all *Virtues*, *Friendſhip* is the greateſt, and only dwells with great and generous Souls; ſo, of all *Vices*, *Ingratitude* is the greateſt, and only dwells with mean, abject Souls: Tho' neither one, nor 'tother, falls under the Cognizance of human Laws: But there is a certain, univerſal,

ſal, ſtanding Rule of Life, handed down to us from the *Romans*, without Exception, which will continue to the End of the World:

Si Ingratum dixeris, Omnia dixeris.

Adverſity only can diſtinguiſh *true* from *falſe* Friendſhip.

IN this Rotation of Time I fell in with the *famous* (or rather *infamous*) *South-Sea* Year, 1720, when the whole Iſland of *Great Britain* was ſeized with a contagious, peſtilential Diſtemper, which I called a *golden Phrenzy:* This Contagion firſt broke out in *France*, and ſo contaminated the Air, that it wafted itſelf over into *Britain*, and even returned back and infected the *Dutch*.

THIS *South-Sea* Company was a Child conceived, and brought forth by that *great* and *able* (I wiſh I could ſay *good*) *Miniſter*, the late Earl of *Oxford*, and was one of the boldeſt, and perhaps beſt Strokes that ever he or any one ſtruck at ſo critical

cal a Juncture of Time, when the Nation was ſo involved in Debt, to eſtabliſh a *Fund* for the *Debts* unprovided for; and to ſettle this *Company*, the moſt advantageous Branch of Trade, that ever *Britain* was poſſeſſed of, if rightly managed, according to the original Plan laid down, to open all the *Spaniſh Weſt Indian* Ports to the *Britiſh* Trade, without giving Umbrage to the trading Nations of *Europe:* The *firſt* againſt the Wills of theſe very Perſons to whom thoſe Debts were due; the laſt againſt the univerſal Diſlike of the whole Nation, particularly the *Whigs*, who were endeavouring and ſtriving hard, at that Time, to diſconcert all his Meaſures: Both which he reduced, and erected a *Scheme*, as well for aſcertaining a precarious Debt, as appointing an impracticable Commerce; ſo that, in leſs than one Year, thoſe, who were the greateſt Oppoſers of the firſt Steps in it, were the very Men who bought up all the Stock: For they oppoſed it at firſt, rather becauſe they envied him the Succeſs of it, than that they did not think it the

beſt Scheme that ever was laid in the Nation.

DR. *Swift*, in a Letter to my Lord Chancellor *Middleton* of *Ireland*, ſays of my Lord *Oxford*, "That he was the greateſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt uncorrupt "Miniſter he ever converſed with:" And the Dean was no bad Judge of Mankind. I never had the Honour to be acquainted with his Lordſhip perſonally: But what I ſay of him in theſe *Memoirs* is impartial, and conſiſtent with my own Knowledge.

IN or about the Year 1718, the famous *John Law*, Eſq; a *Scotſman* by Birth, then an Inhabitant of *Paris*, a naturalized *Frenchman*, projected a Scheme, for raiſing and eſtabliſhing a Bank in *Paris*, and an united trading Company to the River *Miſſiſippi* in *America*. He incorporated the Stock of this new Company, which was raiſed by Subſcription, into *Bank-Stock*, and the whole united Stock was negotiated and circulated by the Bills of this new Bank; and in a very ſhort Time

Actions

Actions of 100 Subscription rose to 500, 1000, 1800, 2000, nay, even to 3000 and upwards. Then all the Specie in *France* was called into the King's Mint, recoined, and re-delivered to the Proprietors at double Value, by the King's Edict: So, by this Recoinage the King got all the Money of *France* into his Coffers, which put an entire Stop to all commercial Correspondence with other Nations and quite sunk the Exchange into little or nothing:

No Exchange!
The calamitous Effects of absolute Government!
All chimerical Notions!
Ridiculous Projects!
Castles in the Air, without any Foundation!

only to serve the Views of the Duke of *Orleans*, then Regent of *France:* A very *great Man!* of a most extensive Capacity and great Abilities, who concerted Measures with, and made use of Mr. *Law*, only as a *Tool* to serve his own Purposes, and to execute his deep-laid Schemes. He put him at the Head of the *Finances*,

and made him Director of this Royal Bank; all which he accomplished in his own Life-time. By this Method he paid off an immense Sum that old *Louis le Grand* had contracted, and owed to his own Subjects, without putting one *Sous* in their Pockets; but, on the contrary, made them very considerable Debtors to the Crown, by their own voluntary Transactions: And then *Actions* in this Stock sunk to their *primitive Nothing*, the original Source and Parent of all the subsequent *Bubbles*, great and small, in *Europe*, *South-Sea*, &c. &c. &c. At the same Time the once so great Mr. *Law*, who has had the first Peers of *France* attending his Levee in his Prosperity, was oblig'd to fly from the Fury of the People, and died worth little or nothing:

Sic transit Gloria Mundi!

IN the whole Time I never heard, knew or so much as read of one single Instance of *Gratitude* in a *Frenchman*, from the highest to the lowest of them.

BY this *Spunge*, of paying off all the *publick*

lick Debts at once, and heaping up all the Treasure in the King's Coffers, *France* regained Strength to attempt again what the vain-glorious grand Monarch, *Louis* XIV. had been aiming at all his whole Life-time, almost to the entire Ruin and Destruction of his own Country,

To give Laws to Europe.

But we find by Experience, that MONEY is the only Law-giver of *Europe*.

THAT this *Bubble* did take with a giddy, volage, precipitate Nation, under a despotic Government, is not so much to be wondered at, but how it could be introduc'd into a Nation of Liberty and Property, under the best regulated Constitution in the whole World, is incredible tho' certain; for in about two Years after there were Proposals made in *England*, by the *Bank* and *South-Sea* Companies, of incorporating the Government Annuities into their Stock, for the more easy discharging the Government's Debts. The *South-Sea* Company's Proposals were accepted of;

and, in leſs than twelve Months Time, their Stock roſe from 100 to 1300 and upwards, on Notions equally chimerical and ridiculous with the *French Actions*: At the ſame Time there were hundreds of other *Bubbles* going on, every one of them more ridiculous than the other, 'till the Diſeaſe, the *Phrenzy* came to a Criſis, when the *grand Bubble* broke, and vaniſhed at once into Air; to the entire Deſtruction of many, they being like a Parcel of Carrion Crows, eating out the Bowels of one another; and which, was worſt of all, the Government's Debts were left unpaid, nay, not in the leaſt diminiſhed: A Calamity never to be forgot in the Iſland of *Great Britain!*

THIS contagious Diſtemper alſo reached and infected the phlegmatic *Dutch*, and raged for ſome Time with Violence amongſt them, 'till the *States General* thought fit to apply an effectual Remedy, which timely prevented the Deſtruction of their *Trade*, and Ruin of their Country.

I WAS

I WAS on the Field of Battle during the whole Action in *London:* Imagination cannot form to itſelf any Idea of ſuch a Scene without ſeeing the *Farce*, which ended in deep *Tragedy*; from the firſt Quality to the meaneſt Tradeſman buſtling and joſtling together, and dealing promiſcuouſly for Thouſands of Pounds in a Minute: *Credit* was ſo extenſive, that it was in the Hands of every body, they only wanted your Name for it. Methought, I made no bad Figure in the Play myſelf, which even exceeded my moſt ſanguine Hopes; I never dreamt of leſs than three or four Thouſand a Year:

This was the golden Age!
This the Philoſopher's Stone!
This the Magic Wand, by a Touch turning every Thing into Gold!

The very Face of Nature was changed; all were Brothers of Proſperity; there was room enough for all to deal, if they could find Room to ſtand? The only Difficulty remained was, where to find *Worlds* enow to purchaſe: For, during the Violence

of this raging *Diſtemper*, I durſt ſay, the daily Tranſactions in *Stock-Jobbing*, in and about *Change-Alley*, amounted to a greater Sum than the whole circulating Caſh of *Great Britain* amaſſed together: And the *Miſſiſippi Actions* in *France* exceeded our *South-Sea Actions* three to one; and the *ſlow Dutch* were not far behind us in *Madneſs*.

Aſtoniſhing Madneſs!

PHILOSOPHERS agree, that *Happineſs* and *Miſery* conſiſt chiefly in the Imagination; as Happineſs is only a Privation of Miſery, ſo is Pleaſure a Privation of Pain, and conſiſts in being more or leſs dependent on the Will and Pleaſure of another: So this pleaſing *Delirium* was univerſal, every body was greatly pleaſed and fully ſatisfied *within himſelf*, and thought *himſelf happy*, and only wanted to puſh to a higher Degree of Happineſs, in Emulation to their Neighbours; 'till they plunged themſelves into *Miſery*. I had Letters from all Corners of *Britain*, eſpecially from my Relations, congratulating

me

me of my great and good *Fortune*, ſetting forth the great *Friendſhip*, Regard, and Reſpect they had for me, and how nearly they were related to me.

Donec eris fœlix, multos numerabis amicos;
Nullus ad amiſſas ibit amicus opes. OVID.
Dum pauper ubique jacet.

THO' theſe *Memorandums* were only for my private Reflection, I do ſolemnly declare, that I was never aſked a Favour perſonally, that was in my Power, but what I granted; and I always had infinitely more Pleaſure in granting than in receiving a Favour. It may perhaps be aſked, "Why all theſe Debts contracted "before I met with this *Graudeur* and "*Riches*, were not then diſcharged?" Therefore I do again declare, that no-body ever had occaſion to aſk me twice for what was in my Power to do at once: But as theſe Debts were moſtly divided into ſmall Sums, and lay in different Hands, few at that Time thought it worth while to aſk for Trifles. My Neglect, indeed, was not finding them out, which I overlooked

looked as Trifles, being always ready on Call with double Service.

I MADE it my Buſineſs to wait on Mr. *Gordon*, Son to my dear Friend, late *Banker* in *Paris*, and told him the Obligations I lay under to his Father, and offered him the Money with my humble Service; the *Fellow*, who dunned me ſo ſeverely for it, by this Time being ruined. He received me very genteelly, but would not receive the Money; we continued our Acquaintance with great Intimacy. He aſk'd me ſome time afterwards, to engage with him in a *South-Sea* Contract, and I readily and with Pleaſure conſented to, which turned out 2200 *l.* to his Loſs; and I was ſeverely handled for it afterwards as his Surety.

LORD *William Johnſtone*, Son of the Marqueſs of *Annandale*, deſired me to be his Bondſman for 800 *l.* which I readily did, and fifteen Years afterwards I was diſtreſſed for it with Intereſt, and Coſts of Suit; and, when I applied to his Brother-in-law,

in-law, the Earl of *Hoptoun*, (who ſucceeded to a very good Eſtate by his Death, and has a very great Eſtate of his own) he abſolutely refuſed me any Relief, and told me, Lord *William*'s Eſtate was an entailed Eſtate by his Mother, and was not liable to his Debts; ſo I was obliged to pay above fifteen hundred Pounds for him, without getting Relief for one Shilling from his Eſtate, which Lord *Hoptoun* poſſeſſes, as I am told, of about 800 *l.* a Year.

MY Riches and Grandeur did not laſt above ſeven or eight Months, before I was ſunk into a deeper *Abyſs* than ever, with at leaſt five thouſand Pounds Weight more than I was able to pay at the Cloſe of Affairs, which bore me down ſo that I could never get my Head fairly above Water at Home; it baniſhed me abroad, with a freſh Attack at every Return, ſo as to keep me out of Buſineſs from time to time: Though I reckoned myſelf once worth 20,000 *l.* chimerically, but I certainly, with good Management, could have

have realized a great Part of this Sum; but that would not do. The laſt Contract I diſcharged was to *George Middleton*, (for what Caſh I had I always kept with him) when I paid him ſeventeen hundred and odd Pounds, Caſh in his own Hands, and he gave me a Receipt for it, the old Debt included, in full of all Demands.

I RECOVERED, indeed afterwards, upon one of my *South-Sea* Contracts, with Col. *Urquhart*, twenty ſeven hundred Pounds by meer Dint of my Lawyer's good Management; the Colonel being then a Member of Parliament, worth a good deal of Money, all got this Way, but had no great Inclination to pay: However, the *Houſe* obliged him to wave his *Privilege* of Protection. He then retired into the *Highlands* of *Scotland*; ſo that no-body got a Six-pence of him, but myſelf.

Now all was gone to the *Devil!* the Maſk was taken off, and every body appeared as ſo many *Ghoſts from Hell*; Pluto *ſent forth all his Furies*, Spite, Malice, Envy,

Envy, Detraction and Deſpair, ſtrongly delineated in their Faces; and, indeed, it was a *Hell upon Earth*, nor do I believe that Hell itſelf can be worſe; and I was fully reſolved to fly from it at all Hazards.

Vanity of Vanities! all is Vanity and Vexation of Spirit!

AT this Juncture I withdrew into a ſolitary, but pleaſant, little Retirement near *Sunbury*, by myſelf, revolving in my Mind what had paſſed, which ſeemed to me ſtill more like *Dreams* than Realities; when one Day the Lords *Hervey*, *Drogeda*, and *Johnſtone* found me out, and made me a Viſit; but I could not entertain them at my little Hut, ſo we went to the Tavern at *Sunbury*. After drinking hard, Lord *Drogeda* called a *Fidler*, who was noiſy enough with his Fiddle, which my Lord ſeemed to like greatly, careſs'd the Fellow, and gave him ſeveral Shillings and Half-crowns; when all of a ſudden, without any Provocation that we knew of, he ſtuck the Fellow dead on the Spot, which could not poſſibly be foreſeen, or

pre-

prevented by any of the Company, having no ſuch Suſpicion. This ſad Accident gave me great Trouble, and much more ſo, as my Name was again brought on the Carpet, that was ſinking into Oblivion. In ſhort, had it not been for my Lord *Falmouth*'s (*Drogeda*'s Father-in-law) Intereſt and good Conduct, we all of us had certainly been obliged to have taken our Tryals for it: But all Affairs were made up, and the Widow handſomely provided for.

HIS Grace the Duke of *Chandos* then patronized the *Royal African Company* of *England*, and he was deeply engaged in their Stock, and, as all Stocks fell in Proportion to the *grand Bubble*, his Grace loſt an immenſe Sum of Money here: However, he ſtuck by it at all Hazards, and was willing to retrieve their Misfortunes, if poſſible, by putting their Trade on a better Footing and ſurer Foundation than they had been on, ſince that Company had been under the Direction of the Duke of *York*, the late King *James* II.

Accord-

Accordingly he united the *old* with the *new* Company, and made Propoſals for the Improvement of their Trade, which made ſome Noiſe in the World, and their Stock roſe conſiderably, when all the reſt were ſunk. He declined being choſe *Governor*, under his Majeſty, who is always Governor; but enliſted himſelf as one of the Court of *Aſſiſtants*.

DR. *Arbuthnot* was his Grace's great Favourite; and I opened myſelf freely to the Doctor; he carried me to wait on his Grace, and I had the Honour of an *Evening*'s Converſation by ourſelves. His Grace had elevated Notions of *Guinea*, and the Trade thereof, when rightly improved, and came to the *Point*, ſpeaking to me; *Will you go to* Guinea, *Doctor*, *in the* African Company's *Service?* I anſwered, *to* Tyburn, *if your Grace pleaſes to ſend me thither.* He immediately ſent for *John Drummond*, Eſq; who was one of the Court of *Aſſiſtants*, and deſired him to draw up my *Petition*, which was delivered next Court-day, and I was directly appointed

Phyſician

Phyſician and *Surgeon-general* to the *Royal African Company*'s Settlements in *Africa*, and accordingly had my Commiſſion and Inſtructions made out with all Diſpatch, and was ordered to ſail the very firſt Opportunity. I was perfectly pleaſed with the Thoughts of ſhunning *Hell*, and going to Heaven; for I knew as little of it, as his Grace did, which was nothing at all; and, having received his Grace's particular Inſtructions, ſailed in a few Weeks.

My Inſtructions were ample, and would have been beneficial, if I had known how to have made a proper Uſe of them. No Governor for the Time being, in the Place where I was, (and I was ordered to viſit all their Settlements) could ſhip a *Negro Slave* on the Company's Account, 'till I had firſt certified, *That they were merchantable Slaves:* So that I was a *Comptroller*, as well as a *Doctor*. I was ordered to the moſt Windward of all their Settlements, *Gambay*, and ſo to proceed to the moſt Leeward, *Whydah*; but, inſtead

ſtead of *Gambay*, I arrived firſt at *Sierralcon*.

THIS Factory is on a little Iſland, about eight Miles up a freſh Water River; by my Inſtructions, our firſt Project was making of *Pot-aſh*, with which the Company propoſed to ſerve *London*, to prevent its foreign Importation. To work I went on this little Iſland; there's Plenty of Wood, and I had *Negroes* at Command. I made ſome Barrels full of it; and ſent it Home for a Sample, with my Obſervations on it, to the Duke of *Chandos*.

SOME Time after his Grace wrote me word, that it would not do: Yet no body could find the Reaſon why. I had ſome learned Letters from Dr. *Arbuthnot* about it: But I knew from *Theory*, and was convinced by *Practice*, that the Qualities of all vegetable fixt *Salts* are the ſame, they only differ in Quantity, ſome Woods affording double, treble, quadruple the Quantity of others; and no Wood could afford a greater Quantity than this; but after our

learned Eſſays, the *Soap-boilers* found it out, the Water was brackiſh, though they drink it there, and is eight Miles at leaſt up a River from the Sea.

AFTER viſiting their Out-factories, I arrived at their principal Settlement of *Cape Corſe-caſtle*, where their General and Commander in Chief reſided, and there I met with forty *Cornwall* Miners, with two Captains or Overſeers, ſent out by his Grace of *Chandos* at his own Expence, and freſh Inſtructions for me to perform wonderful Exploits. I ſtaid ſome conſiderable Time here, and, after viſiting the reſt of their Out-factories, I arrived at *Whydah*; where I differed with the Governor, which Difference at laſt tended to ſet the Company's Affairs in a true Light: For, at my Arrival in *London*, I publiſhed to the World my *Obſervations* on the Coaſts of *Guinea*, ſo far as related to the Trade of *Great Britain* in general, and the *Royal African Company* in particular; ſetting forth the villainous Proceedings and Miſmanagements of their Agents, whom they

they ſtile *General*, and chief Governor, with a proper Method how to remedy thoſe Grievances, and put the Trade on a much better Footing for the Advantage of *Great Britain:* Though, I freely confeſs, I publiſhed that Treatiſe out of the Reſentment I bore to the Governor of *Whydah*, for the Injuſtice and Injuries done me; yet, I aſſure the *Reader*, he will find *Truth* in it, and ſome Things not unworthy his Notice; as appears by the Approbation it met with among Foreigners, who tranſlated it into *French*, and inſerted it in the *Journal des Sçavans*; but, before I publiſhed them, I ſent them with the following Letter.

To his GRACE *the Duke of* CHANDOS.

My LORD,

" I HAVE digeſted into ſome Order, " what *Obſervations* I made on the " Coaſt of *Africa*, from my firſt Arrival " to my Departure from thence, for the " Information of the Court of *Aſſiſtants*

" of the *Royal African Company*; nay, I " am almoſt perſuaded to let them go " naked, as they are, into the World; " which perhaps would be excuſed, as " the laſt Efforts and Struggles to prevent " the Murder of my Character, falſely " attacked only to cloak Villany: But, " methinks, it would be an unpardonable " Crime, eſpecially in me, who am ſen- " ſible of your *Grace*'s Honour, Juſtice, " and Generoſity, to attempt any Thing " of this Nature, where your Grace has " any Concern, without your Leave; " which makes me preſume to ſend *your* " *Grace* theſe few Sheets; which, if your " Grace can throw away an Hour, in " your Country Retirement on them, I " humbly ſubmit to your Peruſal, and can " only plead their Veracity, for an Excuſe " of Inelegancy. But, my Lord, if there is " any Thing, or all, that ought to be ſup- " preſſed, your Grace has only to ſay the " Word, and there is nothing can give " me more Pleaſure, than to have the " Honour of an Opportunity to obey *your* " *Grace*'s Commands, which ſhall always

" be

" be with the utmoſt Gratitude and Re-
" ſpect, punctually obſerved by,

" Your Grace's

" moſt devoted, obliged,

" and obedient, humble Servant,

London, 1724. " JAMES HOUSTOUN."

HIS *Grace* peruſed the Papers, and returned them to Mr. *Lynn*, Secretary to the Company; and next Court-day I was called before a Committee of Correſpondence, and my Papers demanded of me, as being uſeful for the Advantage of the Company; but before I conſented to the Delivery of my *Obſervations*, I gave in my Accompts ſtated; and on balancing there appeared to be 300 *l.* due to me; and, indeed all the Gentlemen of the Committee ſeemed willing, that my Accompt ſhould be paſſed as it was ſtated and balanced, with all imaginable Diſpatch; and not only the Balance paid,

but to make me an *handſome Preſent*, for my faithful Services and great Sufferings, by exerting myſelf for the Honour and Intereſt of the Company; it was minuted accordingly in my Preſence, by Order of the honourable Court of *Aſſiſtants*; Sir *Bibye Lake* engaged his Honour, not only as *Sub-Governor* of the Company, but as a private Gentleman, that all Manner of Juſtice ſhould be done me, and the Duke of *Chandos* was alſo preſent: So I delivered up my Papers to them in Court.

BUT Mr. *Baldwyn*, late Governor at *Whydah*, my Antagoniſt, perceiving that his egregious Villanies muſt plainly appear, took occaſion of waiting on ſeveral of the *Directors*, and, by uſing the never-failing

Argumentum ad Hominem,

managed his Affairs ſo dextrouſly, that he got an Enquiry put off, from Week to Week for ſeveral Months. At laſt I got a Day fixed, when, coming into the *African* Houſe, he had procured a Warrant

to

to arreſt me for an old Debt; and, before I found Bail to the Action, the Court of *Aſſiſtants* was up; ſo he gained ſo much Time longer on me, thro' *J*—— *Bl—kw——d*'s Means, in a mean-ſpirited, ſcoundrel Manner, and, before we came to a Trial, he gained his Purpoſes by a Majority of Votes of only one, whom I called *J*—— *Dr——m——d*, Eſq; which the Duke of *Chandos* never would believe or allow of, though there was nothing more certain; for I could produce ſufficient Proofs of it.

I DO acknowledge, that Mr. *D—m—d* propoſed reaſonable Terms to me, if I would have ſubmitted to Mr. *Baldwyn*, and forgave his bad Uſage: But I deſpis'd him and his Terms too; nay, not the whole *African* Stock would have tempted me; and nothing leſs than *his Grace*'s Commands on me, which he abſolutely refuſed. On the contrary he countenanced and ſupported me in all my Efforts and Struggles againſt him to the very laſt, when he gained his *Point*, by the Force

of what ought to have damn'd him: And all I got for my *Money* and *Pains*, was two or three hard Knocks at him: This ſealed his Point effectually; for he got me taken up by the Lord Chief Juſtice's Warrant, in an Action of Defamation againſt the *Royal African Company*, for beating their Servants, and ſaying, "That "no-body but *Thieves* and *Pick-pockets* "from *Newgate* ought to enter into their "Service;" and bound me over in 30,000 *l.* Bail: But the Duke of *Chandos* extricated me from this Scrape without appearing in it, or elſe I muſt certainly have ſunk under the Burden, as they deſign'd; whilſt *Baldwyn* eſcaped by the Force of his Money, and my want of both Money and Experience to proſecute him at Law, where he muſt have been heartily trounced, and paid ſevere Damages for *falſe Impriſonment*: For he cloſely confined me in *Africa*, for refuſing to ſign his Certificates which were abſolutely falſe, as I publiſhed to the World in 1725. Though I verily believe, had it not been for the Precipitancy and Violence of my

own

own natural Temper, a great deal too much at that Time, to be checked by my Underſtanding, I had not miſſed of my Aim in procuring Juſtice with the Aſſiſtance of his Grace the Duke of *Chandos*, whoſe innate Humanity and Generoſity always led him to do Juſtice to the *Diſtreſſed* and *Oppreſſed*; but I never had any Money of his *Grace*, for I always endeavour'd to conceal my Wants from his Generoſity; and the *African* Company owes me this Balance of 300*l.* to this very Day, and I am afraid will never be leſs in my Debt; for which, with innumerable ſuch other Inſtances of Non-payments, they were d—— deſtroyed.

THIS Violence of Temper reverſes one of the very beſt and ſureſt Maxims in Life,

Lente ſuſcipe, & cito perfice:

For, on this very Maxim depends the Succeſs of moſt Tranſactions in human Life, and Miſcarriages to the Neglect of it; as in this, and many other particular Inſtances

which

which in the Courſe of my Life-time I have ſeverely felt.

Nunca levantar la Mano, haſta que ſe-puede dar el golpe.

I had this Maxim from a *Jeſuit*, and felt the Weight of it from himſelf, as appears in the Sequel.

Now I had Leiſure and Reaſon enough to reflect on my miſpent Time. I lived almoſt three Years in this Scene of Life, as widely different from what I had been in formerly, as *Paris* is from *Barbary*. I was obliged to keep Company with, and be ſubjected to a Parcel of People inferior in Converſation and Behaviour, even to the meaneſt Sort that ever I had then known: Beſides, there's ſomething in the Climate that infects them, by turning *Humanity* into *Barbarity*; it alters human Nature, and converts them into a brutiſh, barbarous Diſpoſition, without any Bowels of Compaſſion. I could give a thouſand Inſtances, but I forbear. Thoſe who have the ſuperior Command are as abſolute

as

as the *Great Mogul*, and as void of *Humanity* as *Barbarity* itſelf.

As for my own Part, I retired entirely within myſelf, except the Time I went to Meals: For I always eat at the General's, (*Company*'s Table) by Order of the Court of Aſſiſtants our Maſters, who gave a very handſome Allowance for a Table for their Principal Servants, whilſt their *Factors* and *Writers*, who were not allowed to eat at that Table, were ſtarving for Want, their Allowance being ſo very ſmall, and Proviſions very ſcarce and dear there. I have known ſome of them ſtarved even unto Death. They ought to have been put under the Regulations for Diet in the Manner I preſcribed to them in my *Obſervations*.

I CONSIDERED with myſelf thus; I am ſuffering for my own Follies, and it is better to be in this Gaol, than in a Gaol in *England*: But then the Thoughts of getting out of it, if poſſible; for all my *golden Dreams*, that I had formed to myſelf about *Africa*, were by this time quite vaniſhed

vaniſhed into Air: My Buſineſs now, thought I, was to make the beſt of a bad Bargain.

I FOUND no Way they had of making Money, but by impoſing on the *Company*, for they were all ſworn, from the higheſt to the loweſt of them, except the *Doctors* of *Soul* and *Body*, "not to trade upon "their own Account, nor to have the leaſt "Communication with interloping Ships, "(*ridiculous Inſtructions!*) under the ſe-"vereſt Penalty." The General, or Governors took Care to put this in Execution ſtrictly, againſt all under their Command.

I HAVE known a *Factor* lie ten Days with his Head in the Stocks, only for going on board an interloping Merchant-ſhip, and buying a few Trifles, Proviſions, *&c.* that the Governors might have the more room to monopolize the Whole for themſelves, which they ſerved out again, at a moſt extravagant Rate, to the poor ſtarved People under them; which Practices I always abhorred. But, when I

was

was fully convinced of the only Methods how Money was to be got amongſt them, I came to a firm Reſolution, at all Hazards, to puſh for my Share of it, which I put in Execution at *Whydah*, where there was a very great Trade carried on by all Nations, particularly by the *Portugueze*, in Gold Duſt, *&c.* from *Brazil*.

OUR Governor, *Ambr-ſe B-ldw-n*, Eſq; would have *ſlaved* two or three of theſe *Portugueze* Ships, from eight to nine Ounces of Gold Duſt each Negroe *per* Head on his own Account, and made an equal Number of the Company's Ships wait, till he found more Slaves for them; and, by our Maſters Inſtructions, he could not ſhip a Slave on the Company's Account without my certifying, *that they were merchantable Slaves*; and I had ſigned three or four Times without conſidering or enquiring into Affairs.

AT laſt I gave our Governor to underſtand, that I knew perfectly well how the

Game

Game went, that I was positively resolved to sign no more, and that he must stand and fall by himself. I do acknowledge, that he did make me some Offers to come into his Measures, which I despised, and look'd upon him and his Offers too with Scorn: At the same Time I don't pretend to be more virtuous than my Neighbours; but I might be *led*, but could never be *drove*. He did not attack on the right Side, and I always carried the old *Scotch* Proverb strongly rooted in me,

Ne'er to gang to the De'el with a Dish-clout:

As the Duke of *Argyll* observed in one of his Speeches in the House of Lords, haranguing about *Bribery* and *Corruption*; that they never came to his *Price*; but his Grace had a much better Way of managing than by Bribery and Corruption, as before taken notice of.

I NEVER did plead *Honesty* for myself by Words, for all Men are to shew their *Honesty*

Honesty by their *Deeds*, and not *Words*: It is only the *designing* Villain who praises his own Honesty by Words; but I can say with a safe Conscience, "That I have "been as honest in all my Dealings as "most Men that I have dealt with, and "a great deal too honest for some of "them;" for which I have suffered and do heartily repent of, as the Cause of my own *Failings*, putting it out of my own Power to answer the Demands on me punctually and gratefully; for it is no Excuse in *moral Honesty*, to say, "That I have "more Money owing to me than I owe "to others;" though shewing and ballancing Books is some Sort of Satisfaction in a Mercantile Way.

HOWEVER, our Governor and I differ'd, whilst he made 30,000 *l.* he put it out of my Power, by his insolently despotic Government, to make 30,000 *d.* in that Time; and confined me close Prisoner for one and thirty Days to force me into Measures, and then only gave me Liberty, on Condition, that I immediately

ately went off the Coaſt; for he wanted to get rid of me at any rate: Of all which Tranſactions, I gave a full Account on my Arrival in *London*, with ſufficient Proofs of what I publiſhed in the Year 1725, for the Uſe of the Court of Aſſiſtants, as aforeſaid.

In thoſe *Obſervations* I again aſſure the Reader, that he'll find nothing but Truth, and I told the whole Truth to the Duke of *Chandos*, my very good Friend, and let his Grace into the original Source and ſecret Springs of all their Tranſactions and Affairs abroad, which he was an entire Stranger to; for I found out all their Ways at laſt, *ad amuſſim*, ſo undeceived him at once; and then he ſold out all his *Stock*, which was very conſiderable; on which the *African* Company's Stock fell to little or nothing.

It is a general Miſtake, and a vulgar Error of the firſt Concoction, to imagine that any *Trade*, or Branch of Trade, can poſſibly

possibly be confined by any Nation, or particular Set of People, or Company of that Nation where different, or all Nations, have the same Liberty and Property to that Trade: For Trade is a Mistress to be courted and not forced; she delights in Freedom, and readily confers her Favours on all that treat her kindly: But is unwillingly confined to any particular Place, or Set of Men; especially when it is her Right to be left to her own Choice and Freedom.

THIS was clearly exemplified by the Conduct of this Company in all its different Shapes: Whilst in its Infant State, under the Direction of his Highness the late Duke of *York*, they were at very great Expence in building their Castles, Forts, *&c.* and were then a Monopoly, which raised the Price of Negroes to such an extravagant Rate, which must have ended, if it had not been timely prevented, in the entire Ruin of all our *American* Infant Settlements and Colonies,

NEXT their laying the Trade open to all Interlopers, paying 10 *per Cent.* to the Company, was equally deſtructive to the Nation in general; whilſt all other Nations had the free Liberty of that Trade, without paying any Duty at all, and conſequently able and willing enough to under-ſell us in all Markets.

AT laſt the Government was obliged to take this Trade under their Conſideration, being in danger of loſing it entirely, and of having it fall into the Hands of foreign Nations, and to ſupport the Garriſons at the national Charge, which, of all Methods, in my humble Opinion, is the beſt, provided always they make a proper Uſe of theſe Caſtles, Forts, *&c.* by turning them into Magazines and Store-houſes, and always keeping them well provided with all proper Aſſortments of Goods to ſupply the Trade in general, and the *Britiſh* in particular; which would enhance the whole Trade, and ingroſs the Prices of Negroes entirely to ourſelves; and draw great Store of Wealth from all other Nations trading thither, eſpecially the *Portuguese*

Iniguezze from *Brazil*, to our Mother Country in Gold-duſt and other Commodities; and Slaves would come out much cheaper from the many, conſtant, and convenient Opportunities of watching and purchaſing on the Spot, and of the quick Diſpatch in ſelling; and ſo the Returns would increaſe proportionably.

THIS is a moſt beneficial Trade for the Nation in general, if rightly managed by exporting the Product and Manufactures of our Mother Country, and furniſhing our *American* Colonies with *Negroes* cheaper than our Neighbours are able to do, and underſelling them in foreign Markets. A *Negroe* purchaſed in *Guinea* for ten Pounds in Goods, to produce three hundred Pieces of eight in Specie in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, one of the *beſt Branches* of our national Trade, which ought to be incorporated into the *Royal Aſſiento* Trade for *Negroes*, without any excluſive Clauſe in the Treaty agreed on, referred to by the before-mentioned *Obſervations*, wherein is ſaid, "What a "glorious and advantageous Trade this

" is, every *European* Society, as well as " private interloping Trader, muſt be " ſenſible of, as it is the Hinge on which " all the Trade of this Globe moves; " for, put a Stop to the peopling the *Eu-* " *ropean* Plantations Abroad, which could " be done from no other Country but " this, without depopulating *Europe*; I " ſay, put a Stop to the *Slave-trade*, and " all the others ceaſe of courſe. Pray, " who digs the rich Mines of *Peru*, *Bra-* " *zil*, &c. Nay, who ſweetens the La- " dies Tea, and the generous Bowl? And " who reaps the Profit of all? Therefore " let every true *Briton* unanimouſly join " to concert Meaſures, how to centre this " advantageous Trade in *England*; and " I wiſh it could be carried on by the " *Royal African Company*, who hitherto " have been greater Loſers than Gainers " by it; a Trade ſo greedily graſp'd at " by the laborious *Dutch*, which they " purchaſed by the Property of *Brazil*, " in lieu of it. 'Tis only incumbent on " me, as an Obſervator, to lay before " your Honours what occurred to me as " Hindrances to the Company's Intereſt,

" in

" in reſpect to other *European* Nations,
" and in particular, by the *Engliſh* Inter-
" lopers; for, as to other Nations, the
" *Dutch* are the only formidable Anta-
" goniſts we have to deal with.* This
" *Dutch Guinea* Company is an united
" Branch of their *India* Company, of
" which the *States General* bear the great-
" eſt Share, excluſive of all interloping
" Traders of their own Nation, beſides a
" Tax of 10 *per Cent.* on all the *Portu-*
" *gueze* Ships trading to this Coaſt, which
" they had granted them as an Article,
" in exchanging *Brazil* with the *Portu-*
" *gueze*, in lieu of this Trade; which
" they ſtrictly demand, and keep a Man
" of War a cruizing always on the Coaſt,
" to put their Orders in Execution, as
" well againſt the *Portugueze*, as the in-
" terloping Ships of their own Nation.
" So it plainly appears to your Honours,
" what great Advantages that Company
" has over ours; and, indeed, as I have
" only the Intereſt of *Britain* at Heart,
" I cou'd and do wiſh from my very

* Now the *French* are more dangerous to us than the *Dutch*.

" Soul, that his moſt gracious Majeſty,
" who honours your Society by being
" your Governor, wou'd take into his
" Conſideration in Council, and, by Con-
" ſent of Parliament, grant your Com-
" pany a conditional, *excluſive Charter*:
" For it is unreaſonable to expect or de-
" mand ſuch a one as your Company had
" formerly, whilſt under the Direction
" of the Duke of *York*, in King *Charles*
" the Second's Reign; the ſad Effects of
" which plainly appeared by the nu-
" merous Complaints of his Majeſty's Sub-
" jects of his Plantations beyond Sea;
" which, if carried any higher, muſt
" have tended to their utter Ruin and
" Extirpation. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed,
" that even now, if the Company had an
" unlimited, excluſive Charter, that their
" Agents wou'd furniſh his Majeſty's
" Plantations with Slaves at 30 or 40 *l.*
" *per* Head of that Country Money;
" whereas, in a few Days they can waft
" them over to the *Spaniſh American*
" Coaſt, where they fetch 300 Pieces of
" Eight *per* Head, including the King
" of *Spain*'s Taxes, and other Duties,

" which

" which makes them come out at above
" 60 *l.* Sterling; a Price that won't an-
" ſwer with our *American* Plantations:
" But if his Majeſty's Subjects were to
" compute their yearly Demand of Ne-
" groes that are abſolutely neceſſary for
" their Service, which might be eaſily
" done; and at the ſame Time if his Ma-
" jeſty would be pleaſed to grant the *Roy-*
" *al African Company*, either ſingly, of
" united with the *South-Sea Company*, a
" Charter conditionally, to be obliged to
" furniſh his Majeſty's Plantations with
" their Quota of Slaves, demanded at
" 30 *l.* of the Country Money *per* Head,
" including Children above eight or Ten
" Years of Age; which might both an-
" ſwer the Ends of the Planters of our
" *American* Plantations, and enable the
" Company to carry on a Trade, not only
" excluſive of all *Engliſh* Interlopers, but
" to enhance the Trade ſolely to them-
" ſelves, excluſive of all other Nations,
" and to fetch into *England*, from the
" Manufactures and Commodities of our
" own Country, above a Million of Money

" Sterling yearly in ready Specie; which " is entirely ſtifled at preſent, through " the Inability of the Company's Strug- " gling with ſuch Difficulties, as the great " Charge of the Company's maintaining " their Settlements Abroad, whilſt Inter- " lopers come to take the Bread out of " their Mouths; and even aſſiſted in ſo " doing by their own Agents, to ſerve " their own mercenary Ends; whilſt thus " weakening one another, the *Dutch*, " never forgetful of their own Intereſt, " aſſiſted by other Nations, come in to " carry off the Profit of both. Such " a limited Charter as this, where there " is not one Objection left againſt it, put " into the Hands of any Society, empow- " ering them to raiſe a ſufficient Sum of " Money to carry on that Trade, wou'd " not only enable us to furniſh our Quota " of Slaves, *viz.* 4800 *per Ann.* to the " *Spaniards*, as ſtipulated by the *Aſſiento* " Contract, and to make good former " Deficiencies; but naturally bring the " *Slave Trade* entirely into our Hands, " excluſive of all other Nations; ſo con-

ſequently

" ſequently reap the Fruits of the *Ame-*
" *rican* Mines, which they only give
" themſelves the Trouble to dig, but in
" Hopes of ſuch a glorious and advanta-
" geous Trade to *England.*"

I THEN acquainted his *Grace* of my Intentions of going abroad in the Service of the Honourable *South-Sea* Company, and begged his Grace's Countenance and Favour. He anſwered, with a Soul equal to himſelf, *I will ſerve you:* For I knew but few equal to him, ſo magnificently Good! his Soul was a Compoſition of *Humanity* and *Generoſity.*

I HAVE heard his Grace ſay, " That
" he had given away a better Eſtate, than
" he then poſſeſſed;" and this fifteen Years at leaſt before he died. His *Grace's* Favours were ſo general, that I muſt own ſome of them were beſtowed on very worthleſs and ungrateful Perſons, which I could eaſily account for; but his Grace's Intentions were always the ſame, *Great* and *Good!* Tho' *Times* and *Manners* are unaccountable,

O Tem-

O Tempora! O Mores!

His *Generosity*, *Liberality*, and *Charity* always led him to do good Offices, assist the *Distressed* and *Oppressed*.

HE wanted that I should be first reconciled to *John Drummond*, of whom I had a very bad Opinion, which I never concealed from himself, nor from his Grace; and he took a most effectual Method of doing it.

"*To Dr.* HOUSTOUN.

"*SIR*,

"I HAVE sent the Letter, you desired to Sir *John Eyles* in your "Behalf, to Mr. *Drummond*, to whom "you must apply for it; having entirely "left it to his Pleasure, whether he deliver it you or not. *I am*,

"*Sir*,

"*Your very humble Servant*

"CHANDOS."

THIS

THIS was the firſt Submiſſion that ever I made in my Life, and to a Man I really hated: But it was his *Grace*'s Commands; no other Conſideration on Earth could have prevailed on me. I was reſolved to obey, but I could not diveſt myſelf of *unalterable* Nature: I went to Mr. *Drummond*'s; (but it was like going to *Hell!*) "I am come, Sir, ſaid I, by the "Duke of *Chandos*'s Command, for that "Letter to Sir *John Eyles*."—"Did the "Duke, Sir, ſaid he, command me to "give it you?"—"That is, as you pleaſe, "Sir. He anſwered, "Or as you deſerve, "Sir."—"Pray, Sir, give it me, or keep "it, as you pleaſe:" For I was quite ready to burſt: So I made a Bow and was coming away. Then he deſired me to ſit down, and have a little Patience, and began a Story of a Cock and a Bull; ſo that I could not contain myſelf, and ſaid, "You know, Sir, that I know you; "that's nothing to my Purpoſe at preſent; "give me the Letter, or keep it." And away I came; he followed me to the Door, and ſaid, "Here, take it! there's

not

" not such another Man in the whole " World!" So I came off, flying as from the *Devil.*

I DELIVERED the Letter to Sir *John Eyles*, who was the compleatest *Gentleman*, take him in all respects, that ever I knew. Some Days after his Grace of *Chandos* did me the Honour to carry me in his own Chariot to Sir *John*, and said some kinder Things of me than I chuse to mention. Sir *John* desired me to put in my Petition to the *Court of Directors*; and the Court-day following, I was appointed *Surgeon to the Royal Assiento Company*'s Factory, at *Cartagena* in *America.*

THOUGH I was an entire Stranger to such a beneficial Branch of Trade ingrafted in a Company with 40,000,000 Sterling *Stock*, I set out on my Voyage with great Chearfulness, expecting to meet with Abroad a set of *Gentlemen* of good Education, thinking they could be nothing less who were distinguished with such honourable and profitable Employments: But

But I was greatly disappointed; for when I arrived, in the Year 1724, at the Factory at *Cartagena*, I did not find any of our Factors with the least Tincture of a Gentleman in him, except one, and he was over-born (or, as I may rather say, *over-laid*) by a termagante, *Billingsgate* Woman.

I WAS greatly surprized at their Conversation, especially at Table, to hear them take and give one another the *Lye*, with other very low Expressions; which they termed *Freedom* and *Liberty of Conversation*: But I own I never heard the like, not even in *Africa*; for their Conversation there at Table, though low, was decent, owing, if not out of Respect, to the Awe they had of their Governor.

HOWEVER, at *Cartagena* I made myself quite easy, for I was under no Restraint or Subjection, farther than to mind my Business, which was easily done; and I had a large Field for Conversation among the *Spaniards*, especially the *Ladies*, who have the best and strongest *Genius* of all Nations

Nations for *Intrigues* which, answered my Purpose of acquiring the *Spanish* Language, *&c.* and, whenever our *Factors* began their shocking Conversation, I endeavoured to turn it into Ridicule, by way of *Farce*, which I represented next Day to them in some such Manner as this:

The *Persons* of the PLAY.

'Squire *Tittle-tattle*,	first Factor.
Capt. *Brute*,	second Factor.
Sir *John Mundungus*,	third Factor.
Don *Ferdinando Punto*,	fourth Factor.
Monsieur *le Medicin*,	Harlequin.

Doña *Leonora de villa Hermosa*,
My Lady *Mundungus*,
Miss *Mundungus*,
Mulattoes and *Negroes*, waiting Women.

I NEVER saw a stronger Instance of the Force of Example than this; upon Rehearsal every one took his own Part, and took it in good part too, for they were their own Words almost *verbatim*, and stood

ſtood reprimanded with good Humour, and often turned the Converſation ſo far, if not quite polite, as to render it tolerably eaſy.

THE old *Foible*, *Diviſion among ourſelves*, peculiar to the *Britiſh* Nation, as I have frequently mentioned, and always obſerved, appears in lively Colours in our *Factories* abroad; where, if you find five, ſix, or more People *(Britiſh)* in a Factory, you'll certainly ſee them pulling ſo many different Ways; whereas, if they all pulled one Way together, they would infallibly pull ſo much the more Money to each Individual, and proportionably to their *Maſters*. This *Animoſity* is greatly detrimental to *Commerce* in general, and to *Monopolies* and private Traders in particular: For theſe are true Maxims, "He that cannot, or "will not, *make Money* for *himſelf*, nei- "ther can, nor will make Money for his "*Maſters*; and, If Maſters don't give ſuit- "able Encouragement to their Servants, "they never will be well and faithfully "ſerved."

I SHALL not enter into that long controverted Point, Whether *Trade* is carried on moſt for a National Advantage by *Monopolies in Company*, or a *free Trade* by private Traders? as it makes nothing at all to our Purpoſe; for this Trade to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* is prohibited to all Nations, Companies, and private Traders whatſoever, by repeated Treaties agreed upon by all *European* Potentates, unleſs the Goods are ſent to *Spain*, and ſhipt on the *Galleons*, or *Flota*, regiſtred by his *Catholick* Majeſty, and ſubjected to his Duties and *Indulto*; always, excepting his *Catholick* Majeſty is pleaſed to grant to any Nation, by a particular Treaty, the Liberty of introducing into his *American* Dominions, a certain Number of *Slaves* for a limited Time, for the Uſe of his Subjects there: Such as he granted firſt to the *Portugueze*, then to the *French*, and now to the *Britiſh*, commonly called, *The Aſſiento Contract*, for allowing to the Subjects of *Great Britain* the Liberty of introducing *Negroes*, *&c.* into *Spaniſh America*, as you'll ſee by an expreſs Article in the Treaty

Treaty of *Utrecht*, concluded and ratified between her Majesty of *Great Britain*, Queen *Anne*, and his *Catholick* Majesty of *Spain*, in the Year 1713.

EVERY body, who has been in the least acquainted with the four last Years of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, knows that *France* was then greatly reduced by the long War, and wanted *Peace* at any rate. At this very critical Juncture our *new British* Ministers were struggling hard, to get the better of the ousted Party, the *Whigs*: Therefore, to serve their own Purposes, more easily hearkened to the smooth and artful Offers of *France*, at a Time when we might have had our own Terms; and accordingly there were some Proposals made pretty extravagant and unreasonable, of which I shall only mention one to the Point in Hand.

"THAT a *free Trade* should be granted for the *British* Subjects to the *Spanish West-Indies*."

BUT our then Prime Minister, *Harley*, prudently enough foresaw what Umbrage this would give to the rest of *Europe*, especially the trading Part of it, which would necessarily create such Jealousies and Animosities amongst them, that, though the then present Flame of War might be extinguished for a Time, it would very soon re-kindle, and burn with double Force; so that he artfully changed that Article into the following.

"THAT certain Conditions shall be "entered into, with needful Privileges "for the *British* Merchants, to contract "with the *Spaniards* for the *Assiento*, or "*Trade to America in Negroes*, with such "a limited Trade to *America* as should "be agreed on."

WHICH was so contrived, and agreed to in such a Manner, if rightly executed according to the original Plan laid down, as to have fairly laid open all the Parts of the *Spanish West-Indies* to the *British* Trade, without giving the least Umbrage

to

to any other Nation of *Europe* whatever.

THIS was a Legacy of the late Great Lord of *Oxford*, the moſt valuable, for his Country, of any I remember from our firſt Miniſters; excepting that ineſtimable *Jewel* from the late Lord *Godolphin*, the UNION of the two Crowns.* I met with a Gentleman in the *Weſt-Indies*, in the *Company*'s Service, very well qualified for the Poſt he enjoyed, *chief Supercargo* of one of the Company's *annual* Ships, who really was a Man of Letters; but had as much or more *Vanity* than myſelf, which ſurprized me greatly, to find myſelf out-done in my own Way and Humour, by one of a better Underſtanding; though, it is true, he had a much larger Field to exerciſe it in, from his ſuperior Station: And had it not been for this Strength of Underſtanding, improved by Letters and Experience, which over-ſwayed his *Vanity*, inſtead of being a very clever and *well-accompliſhed Gentle-*

* See *Memorial*, in the APPENDIX, Numb. II.

man, as he really was, he muſt have turned out a *meer Coxcomb*.

I SOON contracted an intimate Acquaintance with him, liked his Company and Converſation, being by far the beſt in that Place, and he ſeemed not to diſlike mine; ſo that I was conſtantly with him, and we took a Trip to the *Fair* at *Porto-bello* together: At which Time, in the Year 1728, there happened a Rupture between the two Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*: I cannot call it *War*, for it ſeemed to be more like a *Sham*, than any thing elſe.

THE *Galleons* were all arrived in the Harbour of *Porto-bello*, with only three Line-of-battle Ships for their Guard: The *Fair* was proclaimed, the laſt Bale of their Goods was landed, and all the Money of the Commerce of *Peru* was brought down from *Panama* to *Porto-bello*, which, at a modeſt Calculation, reckoning the Money regiſtred and unregiſtred, amounted to 30,000,000 Pieces of Eight, when Admiral

Admiral *Hoſier* arrived, without the leaſt Knowledge or Suſpicion, either of the *Spaniards* or *Engliſh*, with a Squadron of eleven Sail of Line-of-battle Ships; and in a few Hours might have made himſelf Maſter of all this Treaſure, in *Money* and *Goods*, amounting to double the Sum above-mentioned, with little or no Reſiſtance: For he had Strength enough to have blown them into the Air in a few Hours Time; and the Surprize left them no room for Defence, incredible though certain! and never to be forgiven, *Feaupas!* the original Source of all our Embroils, and irretrievable Misfortunes, not only with *Spain*, but with the reſt of *Europe*; inſtead of being the *Umpire* of *Europe*, to become the *Dupes* and laughing Stock of all;

Quis talia fando temperet à lachrymis!

Admiral *Hoſier* ſent Capt. *Medley* aſhore with a Meſſage to the Preſident of *Panama*, and to the General of the *Galleons*, acquainting them, "That he did not "come in a hoſtile Manner, to treat them

" as Enemies, but only as a Squadron of " Obſervation, and to demand the *South-* " *Sea* Company's Ship, *the Royal George*; " (which was never detained) *ridiculous* " *Nonſenſe!*" For this Affair was compleated before the Arrival of the *Britiſh* Squadron: The whole Cargo was ſold, and the Caſh all ready to be paid in, as faſt as they could receive it. I was at the receiving of it, and the whole very dexterouſly negociated by a Gentleman who knew how to manage the *Spaniards* in their own Way, better than any one that ever I knew abroad in the *South-Sea* Company's Service.

I WAS privy to all the Epiſtolary Correſpondence between the two Admirals, having the Honour to be intimately acquainted with Don *Franciſco Cornejo*, General and Commander in Chief of the *Galleons*; and, each of them writing in his own Country Language, the General of the *Galleons* ſcarce ever received a Letter from Admiral *Hoſier* without ſending for me to be his Interpreter: But I had not

not the Honour to know Admiral *Hoſier* farther than by his Letters to the *General*; and I freely own, had a School-boy under my Care wrote ſuch Letters, I would have ordered him to be whipt.

THE *General* always wrote with his own Hand to Admiral *Hoſier*, as in all polite Nations one *Gentleman* does to another who is his equal, and the *Admiral* correſponded in his own Hand, but wrote great Nonſenſe, and never a Word was right ſpelt: The General had an *Iriſh* Gentleman on board of him, in whom he confided, whoſe Name was *Daniel O'Hony*, and his firſt Lieutenant, (as honeſt a Man as ever I knew) to whom he uſed to commit the Admiral's Letters for Interpretation, who made them greater Nonſenſe, if poſſible, than they were before. Upon my being conſulted, I told Don *Daniel*, that he had forgot his *Engliſh*; and ſo uſed to make the moſt of them, to the beſt of my Judgment, begging his *Admiral-ſhip*'s Pardon, for his as well as our Country's Honour.

ADMIRAL *Hoſier* might have been an exceeding good Sea-officer, for ought I know, and, had he come to diſpute with Don *Franciſco* with the *ultima ratio Regum*, he might have got the better of him, at leaſt I wiſhed ſo; but, in *Politicks*, he was far inferior to him; Don *Franciſco* was a polite Gentleman, a good Officer, one of ſtrong natural Underſtanding, and a Man of Honour and Integrity; but our Admiral, was a mere rough, *vulgar Tarr*.

ADMIRAL *Hoſier* lay at the *Baſtimentos* (three Leagues diſtant from *Porto-bello*) with his Squadron, when the General of the *Galleons* continued ſafe in the Harbour of *Porte-bello* with his Fleet; throwing up Breaſt-works and Batteries for their better Defence, and put all their Caſtles in the beſt Order, whilſt the *Admiral* was loſing his Men by thouſands, through a Mortality that viſited them. And, whatever Term Mr. *Hoſier* might uſe for this *ſham Expedition*, the cunning *Spaniard* called it a *Repriſalia*; and accordingly ſeized all the

Com-

Company's Effects, except the *Royal George*, which was now safe, all her Cargo sold, and the Cash on board the *British* Squadron.

ADMIRAL *Hosier* had stopped a Parcel of Bomb-boats, Periagua's, Canoes, *&c.* with Provisions for *Porto-bello*; so the Governors of *Cartagena* and *Porto-bello* detained the Company's Vessels in Harbour; on which the *General* of the Galleons concerted and agreed with the Admiral, to set all Vessels then in Custody on both Sides at Liberty, for this Time only.

I BEGAN now to be very uneasy with the Thoughts of being taken Prisoner, being absent from our Factory at *Cartagena*; so I embraced this Opportunity to make the best of my Way back thither, and carried the Articles of Agreement between the two Admirals along with me.

DON *Lewis a Ponti*, Governor of *Carthagena*, who had more Understanding in his

his little Finger, than all our Factory put together had in their whole Body, (*Savia Mucho*, he was an exceeding clever Man) having detained one of the Company's Veſſels in the Harbour, with about 100,000 Pieces of Eight on board, when I delivered him the Copy of the Articles, he gave a ſhrug with his Shoulders, and ſaid, "Bid your firſt Factor, *Squire Tittle-tattle*, come to me, for you have no Concern in this Affair, and I deſire that you would not meddle in it:"—He told the old Fellow, (I was going to ſay, *old Fool*) "That he did not think that Money ſafe on board, and deſired the Factors to bring it aſhore, and put it into the Hands of Don *Domingo Miranda*." In ſhort, he perſwaded our Factors to go on board themſelves and fetch the Money: But Don *Domingo*, no doubt, having had his Leſſon before-hand, poſitively refuſed the Truſt. The Governor then told them, "That the beſt and ſafeſt Place was the "*King's Cheſt*;" and there it was depoſited, and all done by themſelves, without any Compulſion, and brought about by

mere

mere Strength of a ſuperior Underſtanding: For, if they had not done it themſelves, he would have been obliged, by the Articles of Agreement, to have let the Veſſel go, as ſhe then lay, Money and all.

DON *Lewis* could eaſily ſhake off the Governor, and put on the polite Gentleman, after this Victory, which was too eaſy a Conqueſt. When he had got the Money into his Clutches, he was in high Spirits, and invited us all to *Dinner:* And, after I parted from my Friend and Patron, (I made his Houſe my Home) the Jokes went round, for he was a great Joker; he told our Factors, "The Money was now "*in ſalvâ Cuſtodiâ*, in a great ſtrong Iron "Cheſt, that even Fire itſelf could not "deſtroy it, and that it had three great, "ſtrong Locks: Now, ſaid he, Squire "*Tittle-tattle* do you take one Key, and "Capt. *Brute* ſhall take another, and leave "the third for me, ſo you are two to one "againſt me; and, if you ſhould take a "Trip to *England*, you'll be ſure of your

"Money

"Money at your Return." But, alas! they no sooner turned their Backs on *Bocachica* than the three Locks turned into one, and the Chest flew open with a Jirk, and the *Company* suffers for Senior *a Ponti*'s *Joke*, and their *Factor*'s *Ignorance*, to this very Day.

HOWEVER severely the *Company*'s Affairs were handled, our Persons were treated with Humanity and good Manners, whilst we were Prisoners, by this Gentleman, who detained us for some Months, and then sent us to *Jamaica*, with our private Interest, not in the least touched.

I STAID about twelve Months in *Jamaica*, and then made the best of my Way for *London*, where I was received by Sir *John Eyles* with his usual Sweetness of Temper, and Politeness in Behaviour, peculiar to himself; for he seemed to receive the Favours, he was granting, by his Countenance and Courtship.

I was immediately continued in the Honourable *Company*'s Service, which entitled me to my Sallary during the whole Time of the *Reprisalia*; and I was likewise re-imburſed for my Expences on the Voyage Home. Sir *John* aſked me, "How I liked the Service, and the Country?" I anſwered, "That, for the "ſhort Time I had been there, I liked "it exceedingly well: That, in my humble Opinion, it was a moſt beneficial "Branch of Commerce to the Nation in "general; and, when rightly managed, "advantageous to the Company in particular: And that every Servant, in the "Honourable Company's Service abroad, "may make Money enough, according "to his Station, without interfering with, "or the leaſt Detriment accruing to the "Company." I then took notice of the great Diſadvantage, ariſing in the Company's Service, from ſuch an odd Medley of Servants; who are indeed their Repreſentatives abroad: You'll find a *Bacallão* Merchant amongſt the principal Factors, becauſe he can talk a little *Spaniſh*;

niſh;—a mere *Tarr*, bred before the Maſt, becauſe he has a Friend in the Court of *Directors*, that makes a bawling Noiſe in it, and will be heard;—a *broken Tradeſman*, becauſe he is repreſented as an Object of Charity, and muſt be provided for out of Compaſſion;—a *young Gentleman*, who has been at the Academy, and learnt to ride the Great-horſe, dance, *&c.* becauſe he is recommended from Court; with *Et-cæteras* in abundance! By this Compoſition is repreſented the trading Part of the *Britiſh* Nation, amongſt a cunning, ſubtile, and ſagacious People, the *Spaniards:* Though, I own, I have ſeen many Refuſe amongſt them too; but their *Governors* are generally Men of good Senſe and Penetration; and it is on them the principal Buſineſs of the Factory depends.

NO-BODY had a more extenſive and better Knowledge of Commerce, in all its different Branches, than Sir *John Eyles*; for he was a thorough Merchant, as well as a compleat Gentleman; and he had made

made it his particular Study to get a full Knowledge of this Trade, carried on under the *Assiento Treaty*; and indeed he knew it even to the minuteſt Circumſtance, and would have brought it to the greateſt Perfection, the Advantage of the Nation in general, and the Company in particular; had not a *Dæmoniac* Spirit of Envy, Malice, and Detraction prevented his laudable Deſigns.

THIS Run againſt Sir *John* was very politically fomented and carried on by the *Dutch*, to ſerve their own intereſted Views, *viz.* to deſtroy our *Whale-fiſhery* in *Greenland*, at that Time daily improving, and carried on by the *South-Sea* Company: They bought up large Shares of *South-Sea* Stock, by the Hands of their Friends, who made a very great Noiſe in the *general Courts* againſt this *Fiſhery*, as diſadvantageous to the Company, and ſet on foot only for the Advantage of ſome Gentlemen in the *Direction*, levelling their Speeches at Sir *John*.

IT is true, at their first fitting out Vessels, procuring expert Fishermen, trained up in that Trade, and breeding up others, was a very great Draw-back on the *Company*, and they were annually considerable Losers: But, these Difficulties once got over, we should have become as expert in it as the *Dutch* themselves, and supported this beneficial Trade to the Nation in general, and to the Company in particular: And the principal Instrument, the *Dutch* made use of to accomplish this Design, was one of their own Countrymen, whom Sir *John*, out of his superlative Goodness, had introduced into the *Direction* as a Friend. It is therefore, we see, of dangerous Consequence to trust any *Foreigner* in the Direction of any trading Company; and the *Dutch* know this Maxim so well, that it is prohibited in their own Country, by an Order of the *States General*.

SIR *John*'s good Intentions and Judgment further appear by the proper Regulations he put the Factories under, at the

Re-

Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Aſſiento* in the Year 1729, to prevent Diviſion amongſt themſelves, when he made it the Intereſt of every Individual to unite; and the more Service they did for their Maſters, the more Advantage accrued to every one in particular: But even all that would not do; therefore, his Patience being quite tired out, with the unkind Fatigues they gave him for his good Services, he reſolved to reſign the Government of this Company, on which he made the following Speech to the *Court of Directors*.

" *Gentlemen*,

" I HAVE now had the Honour to
" ſerve near twelve Years, as Sub-
" Governor of this Company, and have
" always endeavoured to diſcharge the
" Truſt repoſed in me with Diligence
" and Fidelity; but confeſs I have con-
" tinued much longer in this Chair, than
" I ever propoſed, and it is well known
" to many Gentlemen, how deſirous I
" was to have quitted it about ſix Years
" ago.

" I HAVE ſpent the beſt of my Life in " this Employment; my Conſtitution has " ſuffered very much from the perpetual " Cares and Anxieties attending it: It is " high time to lay down ſo weighty a " Burden, and I thought it my Duty to " give you this early Notice of my Inten- " tion, that you may turn your Thoughts " upon ſome more worthy Perſon, to ſup- " ply my Place at the enſuing Election.

" I AM ſorry to ſay, that, by ſo many " Years Experience, I have learnt, that, " from the natural Viciſſitude of Things " and the Variety of Tranſactions, Opi- " nions, Tempers, and Views in trading " Societies, it is ſcarce poſſible for the " ſame Man always to pleaſe, without a " very uncommon Degree of Prudence " and Moderation.

" THE Difficulty is alſo encreaſed by " a Fatality ariſing from the very Nature " of the Trade carried on under the *Aſſi-* " *ento Treaty*; for, tho' it is certainly in " itſelf a *profitable Commerce*, and in ma- " ny

" ny reſpects beneficial to the Nation,
" provided it could be protected by that
" Faith, which ought to be inviolably
" preſerved in the Execution of Treaties
" between two Nations; yet it muſt be
" allowed, that the *Spaniards* have not
" only *thrice* ſeized and confiſcated the
" *Company's Effects*, under Pretence of
" War; but, having been made ſenſible
" of the great Advantage the Company
" and Nation might reap from it, have,
" perhaps, from that Reaſon too, found
" frequent Means to interrupt the Re-
" turns, and thereby diſappoint the ex-
" pected Gains: And theſe Diſappoint-
" ments have been too much magnified
" by thoſe who imagine it to be their
" more immediate Intereſt, that the Trade
" to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* ſhould be re-
" ſtrained to the ancient Channel, by the
" Way of *Cadiz* only, and who, it may
" be, have not conſidered, that whene-
" ver the *Aſſiento* and *annual Ship* ſhall
" fall into the Hands of any other Nation,
" the ſame Quantity of Goods will ſtill
" be ſent to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, in

" the ſame Way, with this eſſential Dif-
" ference, that they will not be the Ma-
" nufactures of *Great Britain*; or, ſhould
" the Annual Ship be diſcontinued, this
" Nation only will, in all Probability, ſuf-
" fer by the encreaſed Trade at *Cadiz*.

" THUS ſituated, it is not to be wonder-
" ed I have met with ſome Difficulties in
" the Courſe of my Direction, but I hope
" the Uneaſineſs I have gone through,
" and which I flatter myſelf I have not
" deſerved, will not fall to his Lot that
" ſhall ſucceed me.

" I RETURN my hearty Thanks to
" thoſe Gentlemen, who have been ſo
" kind, as to afford me from time to
" time, their Aſſiſtance and Support,
" under the many Difficulties and Per-
" plexities I have been obliged to en-
" counter with, during the Time I have
" had any Share in the Management of
" this Company's Affairs.

" *South Sea Houſe,*
December 12, 1732.

FROM

FROM this very Day the *Assiento Trade* may date its Death; but I hope in a *Resurrection.*

MY original Sins stared me again in the Face, when I returned from *Africa* to *London*; but I then published my Misfortunes to the World, so that they did not molest me much, except one *John Blackwood*: But now, being come from the *South-Seas*, I must be very rich in the Eyes of the World, and a Man of no Principle, if I did not pay my Debts; so they attacked me at once; they pushed, and I parried; but, had it not been for two able Masters of the Art of Defence, *(Lawyers)* they had certainly got the better of me, and sunk me on the Spot, and not bettered themselves one Farthing by it. I always have kept a Register of Debtor and Creditor with the World, and a Court of Chancery, or Equity in my own Breast, which shall be balanced in my *Last Will* and *Testament*, and 'till then I beg the World to suspend their Judgment, at least not to put it in Execution:

for I never had but one ſtanding Maxim in Religion and Morality, which comprehends all;

To do as I would be done by.

This I have always made, to the utmoſt of my Power, and ſhall continue it till the Day of my Death, my fixed and immutable Rule.

ABOUT this Time our Prime Miniſter, Sir *Robert Walpole*, patched up a *Peace* with the *Spaniards*, and we felt the Effects of it immediately abroad, the Conſequences of that *grand Blunder*, the Omiſſion of *Hoſier*'s Squadron at *Portobello*; for, upon the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Aſſiento* in the Year 1729, I returned to my Station at *Cartagena*; and, of all the old Set of Factors, there was only one returned thither, Don *Ferdinando Punto*, who was now firſt Factor; he was bred from a Boy amongſt the *Spaniards* at *Cartagena*, and had little or no Education, for he had lived eighteen Years amongſt them, without being out of the Country;

but

but to be ſure, of all that Set, he was the moſt capable for that Employ.

WE had a *Cedula* from the Court of *Madrid*, by the King's Order, for the Reſtitution of all the Company's Effects that were *repriſalied*, particularly the 100,000 Pieces of Eight that Don *Lewis a Ponti*, late Governor of *Cartagena*, had tricked the Factors of, and depoſited in the King's Cheſt.

AT our Arrival we found a new Governor, Don *Antonio Salas*, a ſtubborn, reſolute, old Soldier, with little or no Education, and what little Underſtanding he had was purely natural, from whom we met with a very unmannerly and rude Reception, inſomuch that the very Inhabitants of the Place, our old Friends and Acquaintance, durſt not even ſpeak to us in the Streets, or invite us to their Houſes; but were obliged to come ſkulking to us in the Night-time, with Proteſtations of their Friendſhip, though they were poſitively forbid by the Governor to ſhew us any manner of Countenance;

Quantum mutatus ab illo!

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe Difficulties to work our firſt Factor went with the Governor, ſhewing him his *Catholick* Majeſty's *Cedula*, for the Reſtitution of all the Company's Effects, ſeized in the *Repriſalia*, with a particular Order for thoſe Pieces of Eight; but the Governor put him off from time to time with evaſive and chicaning Anſwers: Then they went to *Autos*, (Law-ſuits) Declarations, Manifeſto's, Memorials, Remonſtrances, *&c.* ſetting forth the Injuries and Injuſtice done to the Company, contrary to Treaty and Orders of the King of *Spain*, but all to no purpoſe: At laſt the Diſpute got to open Paſſion; and I have ſeen the *Governor* tremble at the Sight of our *Factor*, (not for Fear, but with mere Paſſion of Anger) for an Hour running, like a Aſpin-leaf: Then his Anger would exert itſelf in Inſults and opprobrious Language: In ſhort, it was a mere *Hell upon Earth*; none of them would yield, but the Governor was by far the ſtrongeſt, unleſs

unleſs he had been attacked at other Weapons. I have heard his Predeceſſor ſay, *Aqui eſtá la Cedula, pero es meneſter ſangrarlo.* It is certain 10,000 Pieces, rightly applied abroad, will do more Service for the Company's Intereſt than 100,000 Pieces laid out at the Court of *Madrid.*

ONE Day converſing intimately with Don *Sebaſtian Igleſias*, one of our Royal Officers on this Subject, "There's *Edwar-*
"*dito*, ſaid he, (meaning our firſt Factor)
"making a Noiſe and a Buſtle, and throw-
"ing the Governor into ſuch Paſſions,
"that it is impoſſible to do any thing
"with him, about his *Papeles*, (Law-pa-
"pers) with which he may wipe his
"Breech, being more proper for an *At-*
"*torney* than a *firſt Factor*: He don't
"come to the Purpoſe; but I will ſhew
"you:" And then went to his Scrutoir, and fetched a Letter from Don *Joſeph Patiño*, then Prime Miniſter of *Spain*, (a great and able Miniſter) thanking the Governor and Royal Officers, for having remitted, and applied to his *Catholick* Majeſty's

jeſty's Service, thoſe 100,000 Pieces of Eight; and greatly approving their Conduct, for having ſo opportunely ſupplied the Exigencies of the Government, at ſuch a critical Juncture of Time, which bore the very ſame Date with his *Catholick* Majeſty's aforeſaid *Cedula*.

THIS, I do declare upon Honour, for I read it with my own Eyes; Does it not therefore require Men of Addreſs, and thorough Knowledge of Men and Things, to deal with ſuch treacherous, and perfidious *Courtiers*, the Bottom of all theſe kind of Villanies? In ſhort, by long Experience I have learnt, that there's but one never-failing *Argumentum ad Hominem* with them; but it requires a Man of great Judgment and Penetration to apply it rightly, ſo as many and great Advantages may accrue from it.

IN the beginning of the Year 1733, Sir *John Eyles* reſigned his Government of this Company, when there was a new Set of Directors choſen: I would not preſume

to

to ſay any Thing by way of Detraction on my *honourable Maſters*, that *Juſtice* and *Truth* could conceal; but, if their Fellows in all *London* for Ignorance and Malice, (I mean *Ignorance* in the Company's Affairs abroad, and *Malice* to their Servants) could have been found, I'll ſubmit; and the Beauty of it was, they pickt out one to fill Sir *John*'s Chair, who was juſtly entitled to preſide for thoſe two Qualities: ſo to work they went; they turned out all the *Company*'s *Servants* abroad, right or wrong, guilty or not guilty, under Pretence of their having promoted *private Trade*, without ſo much as ever accuſing them, or giving them the leaſt Opportunity of exculpating themſelves, on purpoſe that they might place others of their own making in their room: And then to work they went again with the *old ones*, by Proſecutions at Law; and, after ſpending above 10,000 *l.* of the Company's Money in Law, they never have, nor never will, as I think, recover *ten Pence*: For my Lord Chancellor decreed, "That whatever Damages the *Plaintiff*

"(the

" (the *Company*) could prove had accrued " to them, by carrying on, or promoting " any *private Trade*, ſhould be made " good by the *Defendants*, their Servants, " who, they ſaid, promoted and carried " on that private Trade." A moſt *juſt* " *Decree!*" but I have not as yet heard of any Damages proved by the Company, nor indeed can I find them out, nor even conceive how it is poſſible there can be any, unleſs they ſold *Negroes*, or other Goods belonging to the Company, on their own Account. If ſo, they were *Thieves* and *Robbers* of the firſt Magnitude, and ought to be puniſhed accordingly without Mercy: Of which there's only one Inſtance ſtanding upon Record, of one *Blechynden*, who introduced *Negroes*, marked with the Company's Mark, and ſold them on his own Account; yet this very Perſon never was proſecuted for his Crime, and was the only one, of all the Company's old Servants, that received any Countenance and Favour from this new Direction, and only becauſe he was Sir *John Eyles*'s Enemy; (though only he, and ſuch like,

were

were his Enemies) for, on the new Election, the *Hue and Cry* was, Who is Sir *John Eyles*'s Enemies? Then,

Dignus eſt intrare in noſtro docto corpore.

THIS Scheme was contrived, fomented, and carried on, (under the Roſe) by a cunning artful *Spaniſh* Agent, who then ſate in the Court of Directors, and, under the Cloak of preventing private Trade, made them *Informers* againſt themſelves, whilſt he was ſtriking at the very Foundation and utter Ruin of the *Company*'s *Trade*; as appears by a Correſpondence diſcovered at *Jamaica* between the following Gentlemen, Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, Agent for the King of *Spain* in *London*; Sir *Richard Hopkins*, Sub-governor for the *South-Sea* Company; and *John Merewether*, Eſq; Agent for the *South-Sea* Company in *Jamaica*; which was ſupported by ſeveral Affidavits; and I myſelf have ſeen the original Letters; and, to corroborate this, I remember, I once happened to be in Company with Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, when the Converſation turned

on

on an Offer made, or to be made by the whole Commerce of *Spain* to the *Weſt-Indies*, in the *Galleons* and *Flota*, to give the *Aſſiento Company one half per Cent.* on their whole Commerce to the *Weſt-Indies*, in Lieu of their *annual Ship*: To which Sir *Thomas* anſwered, "That was a very "great *Premium* indeed, but he hoped "to have the Buſineſs done effectually "with a much leſſer *Premium*." I fancy he meant to make them deſtroy themſelves.

HOWEVER it may be, this is certain, that they never had an *annual Ship* ſince Sir *John Eyles* left the Direction: And I may juſtly ſay, whatever Diſaſters, Inconveniencies, and Diſtreſſes accrued to *Spain* from the enſuing War, begun in the Year 1739, were in great meaſure owing to this Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, who, by his Victory over a *Set of ſuch Directors*, was puffed up to ſuch a degree, as to encourage and ſpirit up the *Spaniſh* Governors in the *Weſt-Indies*, to commit repeated Injuries and Inſults

ſults to our Country in general, and the *South-Sea* Company in particular, as appears by thoſe fore-mentioned Letters. From hence we may infer what great Advantages accrue to *Britain*, and Diſadvantages to the Commerce of *Spain*, from the *annual Ship*, when the latter offered ſuch a *large Premium* to get rid of her.

I MUST indeed own, that it is very natural and reaſonable for a *Spaniard*, in the Commerce of *Spain*, to complain of the Trade of the *annual Ship*, as it affects and prejudices their Trade; for there's never any Thing bought of the *Spaniards* till the *annual Ship*'s *Cargo* is ſold off: But, methinks, it is moſt prepoſterous and abſurd, to hear a *Briton* complaining of his Country-man, for exchanging *Britiſh* Manufactures for *Spaniſh* Caſh, with three times the Advantage to his Country that can be done in any other Shape whatſoever.

SOME little time after our learned *Sub-governor* (for he was a *Doctor of the Civil Law*,

Law, without understanding one Syllable of it; nay, not one Word of the original Language in which it was wrote) died; happy for the Company, or else the *Assiento Trade* could not have lived; and he was succeeded by *Peter Burrell*, Esq; a Gentleman of clear Understanding and sound Judgment; who had Penetration enough to discover the Rocks on which his Predecessors split, and took all possible Care to escape them: But the Disease was gone too far to admit of external Applications for proper Remedies; nothing but Extirpation and beginning a-new could eradicate the Distemper: The Wounds we had received from the *Spaniards* were very deep, even to the very Bone: Our Prime Minister, Sir *Robert Walpole* wanted indeed to cicatrize them, (by a *Convention* made at the *Pardo*, on the 14th of *January*, 1739, N. S. when he certainly knew they were very deep, and all fester'd within: For he was not an *ignorant Physician*, but sometimes it suits a Physician better to consult his *own Interest* more than his *Patient's Good*. However, those old

Sores

Sores soon cut through the Cicatrice, and appeared naked with a double Glare, and, had not strong Remedies been immediately apply'd, they had most infallibly caused a Mortification; which was timely prevented, at the very critical Juncture, by that *just* and *unavoidable War* begun in the Year 1739.

I DID clearly foresee the Consequences, and prophecy the bad Effects of our *new Direction* in the Year 1733, even at such a great Distance, as appears by the following Letter.*

AT the same Time I wrote to my Friends in *London*, to give me timely Notice of my being thrown out of the Company's Service, as I expected, that I might draw off my Effects, which was all I wanted. Accordingly Mr. *James Douglas*, my Correspondent, wrote me Word, that he had been with the new Directors; that the *Factory* was changed, but I was included in the new one, with

* *Appendix* Numb. III.

the new Factors, under the ſame Tariff as formerly.

I HAD then concerted a Trade to the Inland Country, *Popayan* and *Choco*; ſo I went boldly on with it, expecting to reap the Fruits thereof in a Year or two: But our new Factors very ſoon arrived with a *Surgeon* of their own chuſing in an underhand Way, a few Days before they ſet out from *London*, with a Letter from the *Court of Directors* to the Governor of *Cartagena*, not to allow any of their old Servants to ſtay there, contrary to their Orders.

THE Governor ſent for me directly, and ſhewed me the Letter, (a moſt ſcandalous Letter!) and aſked me, If I was inclin'd to ſtay? for if I was, they, the Inhabitants of *Cartagena*, would allow me the ſame Sallary the Company gave me: *And as for the Letter*, ſaid he, *I'll wipe my Breech with it.* I thanked his Lordſhip for his Offer, and took ten Days to conſider on it.

I HAD

I HAD then 16,000 Pieces of Eight, employed in Trade, out in the inland Country, which was more than I had got in the Company's Service: I considered with myself, if I ſtay, I muſt ſhake off my Country's Protection, and put on the *Spaniſh* Yoke, which is not a valuable Conſideration; ſo I thanked his Lordſhip for his kind Offer, and appointed the Biſhop of *Cartagena*, Don *Gregorio de Molleda*, and Don *Julian de tres Palacios* my Attorneys, and came off with our diſbanded Factory.

THERE's no Nation in the World, that I know of, more careful and obſervant of their *Punto*, *(Honour)* than the *Spaniards*, and moſt of their Buſineſs is tranſacted on this *Punto*, without the Scratch of a Pen; and even the Villains amongſt them, when truſted, *devaxo Confiança*, ſometimes prove honeſt.

AT the *Repriſalia*, or Rupture with *Britain*, the Governor publiſhed a Proclamation by Order of the King, "That

" whatever Money, Accompts, or Effects, " were in the Hands of any *Spaniard*, be- " longing to the *Britiſh*, were immediately " to be revealed and given up, under the " Penalty of Confiſcation of his whole " Eſtate, and to be ſent Home Priſoner to " *Old Spain*." But no Threat or Puniſh- ment can extort a Confeſſion or cauſe them to commit a Breach of Truſt; there's not one Inſtance of it in all the three *Repriſalias*; but I attribute this more to their *Pride* than *Honeſty*, for, of all Crimes amongſt them, *Breach of Truſt* is the moſt ignominious; yet, whatever may be the Cauſe, the Ef- fects are good; and, whilſt I lived a- mongſt them, I found them very careful and obſervant of their *Punto*, but I wiſh I could ſay ſo much for them in my Abſence. In fourteen Year's Abſence, notwithſtand- ing my repeated Importunities by Letters during a long War, I never was able to obtain more than 600 out of thoſe 16,000 Dollars, owing to me with all the Profit on them, which at leaſt muſt amount to double the Sum: And, till I get amongſt them

them again, which perhaps may never be, I ſhall not be able to recover any more, which convinces me that this *Punto* conſiſts only in the Fear of the Ignominy that might attend the betraying a *Confiança*; but upon my Appearance I believe every Piece of Eight would be redelivered.

SOMETIMES this *Punto* of theirs, under a falſe Notion, is carried into mere *Quixotiſm*. I have known a *Spaniard* in the *Weſt-Indies* ſtarve, by living idly, like a Gentleman as they term it, rather than cultivate his own Lands by Labour, (which would have produced a very handſome Subſiſtence for himſelf and Family, becauſe this would be bringing Diſhonour and Diſgrace on his ancient Family.

IN antient Times this Cuſtom prevailed ſo much in *Scotland*, that a Gentleman of a good Family did not care to put his Son to any mechanic Employ, whereby he might ſupport himſelf handſomely; but in my Remembrance, ſince

the *Union* with *England*, it is almoſt worn out, and, I hope in the Age to come, will be quite abandoned, as a ridiculous, idle Notion, and greatly prejudicial to the Nation in general, and to every Individual in particular.

BUT that this *Punto* does not always proceed entirely from *Honeſty*, I have had a ſtrong Inſtance of within my own Knowledge.

THE *Jeſuits*, as well eccleſiaſtical as ſecular, are a Set of the moſt political People, and the greateſt Traders in the whole *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*: They have the Reputation of honeſt Dealers, ſo far as is conſiſtent with their own Policy, and the Intereſt of their Community, as I have ſufficiently experienced in the Courſe of my Dealings with them. When I lived at *Cartagena*, I always made uſe of the *College of Jeſuits* to depoſite what *contraband Goods* I introduced, that did not fall under the Cognizance of the Royal Officers, and they always gave me an exact

Account

Account of all those Goods deposited upon *Punto*, without any Receipt given on either side, nor could I possibly call them to account for any Thing missing; yet in a Course of Years I never lost to the Value of a *Real*: But then they always bought those very Goods from me in their own Custody, and had large Profits by them; yet, as I likewise found my Advantage in it, from the Security, though my Profits were less, we agreed very well, till they played me a keen *Trick* just as I left *Cartagena*, when we were ordered home by the *honourable Court of Directors*, our Masters.

I HAD bought of the reverend Father Don *Jayme Lopez*, who was the Rector of the *Jesuits* at *Cartagena*, fifty-four Serons of *Cacao*, at a Piece of Eight *per Milliard*, which is 4 *lb.* I paid him the Money immediately, and marked them with my own Marks and Numbers, from No. 1, to 54: But as the College is very near the *Custom-house*, where we embark all Goods for Exportation, and our *Factory-*

houſe was at a conſiderable Diſtance, I deſired the Favour of the *Padre Rector*, to give me Warehouſe-room for thoſe Goods, till the Arrival of the *Aſſiento Veſſel* from *Jamaica*; and accordingly he granted the Favour, with a good Grace and Complaiſance.

IT was two Months and upwards before the Arrival of the Veſſel, and in this Interval of Time the Price of *Cacao* roſe, from one to two Pieces of Eight *per Milliard*. The Reverend Father embraced this Opportunity, and ſold off my *Cacao*, at two Pieces of Eight *per Milliard*, without aſking my Leave, or giving me the leaſt Notice of it. When the Veſſel arrived, I took out my Licence from the Governor and Royal Officers to embark my Cacao; but, when I came to the College to receive it, I was told, there was none there, for the *Padre Rector* had ſold all the Cacao, which was delivered to the Buyers ſome Weeks ago.

I CAN-

I CANNOT expreſs the Paſſion it threw me into, and in this violent Paſſion I went to the *Padre Rector*, and aſk'd him, " *Father, have you ſold my Cacao?*" He anſwered me as cool as a Cucumber, *I have ſold all the Cacao:*——*What!* ſaid I, *my Cacao?* He replied, *All the Cacao.*—*Well!* ſaid I again, *Reverend Father, if I had you in my Country, and you was the beſt Clergyman in* Great Britain, *even the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *himſelf, and played me ſuch a villainous Trick, I would have you pillory'd, and your Ears cropt.* He anſwered, with the ſame Gravity and Coolneſs, *Si yo no eſtoy alla; but I am not there.*

I WENT on, in the Violence of my Paſſion, with more warm Expreſſions; and then he raiſed his Voice a little, and ſaid, *V. M. quiere levantar la Mano contra la Igleſia? Do you want to lift up your Hand againſt the Church?* In ſhort, I left him, and went to the Governor's, who was then at great Variance with the *Jeſuits*, and told him the whole Story; who

pauſed

paused a little, and said, "Well! I have "told you of your Merchants frequently, "(meaning the *Jesuits*) now you see what "they are? I wish to God, I could come "over them; but they are subjected to "no Laws but of their own making, and "acknowledge no Power nor Jurisdiction "but from the *Pope*; so I can give you "no Redress in this Case; for they don't "come under the Civil Power."

In a few Days after, when I was quite cool, I paid a Visit to the *Jesuits* again, to reason the Case, and asked them, *If they would not give me the Price that my* Cacao *sold at?* They unanimously answered, (for there were then three or four of them together) *That they would return the Money that I paid for it, or give me an equal Quantity of* Cacao, *when it came from the Inland Country; but the* College *must not suffer;* So I took my Money, and put up with the Loss, for fear of being worse off. The *Difference* amounted to about 5000 Pieces of Eight, which was a sufficient *Premium* for them

to

to ſtrike at, when they knew I was going off, and could make no more of me.

IT is impoſſible to conceive, or to entertain a juſt and adequate Notion of the Happineſs a free-born Subject of *Great Britain*, on account of the *Liberty* and *Property* he enjoys, without being ſufficiently experienced in the Miſery of thoſe, who are ſubjected by Birth to the *Tyranny* of an *abſolute* civil Power, and the Slavery of an *Eccleſiaſtic* Yoke. That Society, who calls themſelves, *The Society of* JESUS, are the moſt political Set of People in the whole World: They carry *plenipotentiary* Powers from the *Pope*, excluſive of all *ſecular* Authority, which are as deſpotically exerciſed, as politically uſed, for the Benefit of the *Hierarchy*; and they may properly be called the *Church-militant*; for, if *his Holineſs* was to tax every Pariſh 100 Crowns, and every Convent 50, which is a mere Trifle, payable on Demand, throughout all his *Eccleſiaſtical* Juriſdictions, and decimate his *Clergy*, he would be more powerful in *Men* and Money,

ney, than all the Princes in *Chriſtendom* put together: And the *Jeſuits* themſelves, when they attack, do more Execution, and make greater Devaſtation, than any Army of *Soldiers*.

THERE was a Set of People in *Great Britain*, called *Quakers*, of ſome Affinity, in Inclinations and Reſemblance in Conduct, to the *Jeſuits*, ſly, cunning, and hypocritical; but greatly inferior to them in Education, and entirely diveſted of all Power and Authority, and all Manner of Employment, as well in Eccleſiaſtical as in Civil Affairs.

I LEFT *Cartagena* in the beginning of the Year 1734, ſtopt two or three Weeks at *Jamaica*, and then made the beſt of my Way for *London*, where I met with the ſame polite Reception and Behaviour from Sir *John Eyles* as formerly.

BEING of Opinion that the new Set of *Directors* had no other Reaſon for their violent Tranſactions, than to get into the

Saddle

Saddle themſelves, and provide for their own Creatures, ſo that they might anſwer their own private Views and Deſigns; therefore I took the Liberty to give into them a *Memorial*.*

THIS *Memorial* was given in to the Court of *Directors*, *Sept.* 24, 1734. I was then under Covenants with the Honourable Company for five Years, of which there were only three expired, and had a Counter-part of thoſe Covenants, which I ſhewed to my Lawyer; "Why, "ſaid he, you have got the wrong End "of the Staff, you ſhould always go to "Law againſt *Companies* with their own "Money; inſtead of which they have "got your Money to go to Law with. "Your Demands are juſt in Reaſon, Law, "and Equity, but their Purſe is a good "deal heavier and longer than yours;" "which, I think, were very prudent and "cordial Hints."

I WAITED ſeveral Years ſolliciting, without being able to procure my Sallary due

* *Appendix*, Numb. IV.

due to me at Home, or recover one Dollar of my Effects due to me Abroad; nor would they ſo much as give me leave to look after my Effects abroad in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, and took effectual Care to intercept and interrupt all my Correſpondence there: So I felt, to my fatal Experience, how the *Game* was a going; when the Maſk was taken off, the Diſguiſe appeared plainly; for they always hunted in a Pack, and the whole Pack was led by *Ring-leader*, a ſtaunch Hound! It is true, *Jowler* was the firſt, a deep-mouth'd Hound! but it was obſervable he always hunted with an erect Head and open Mouth, and made a terrible loud, deep Noiſe; but had a very bad Noſe, ſo that he ſeldom or never found the Scent himſelf: Whereas *Ring-leader* had a very good Noſe, and followed the Scent cloſe. But *Courſer* was the fleeteſt Hound of the whole Pack, and could have out-run *Ring-leader* with great Eaſe, but he never would paſs him, only kept cloſe by him, and ſometimes, when *Ring-leader* miſs'd the Scent, and was at Default, *Courſer* put him

him into the Scent again; and the whole Pack had so good an Opinion of *Ring-leader*'s Nose, that, whenever he opened, they would all, without ever laying their Noses to the Ground, open and follow.

AND accordingly they sent out one of their *Beagles*, a young Whelp just set in, only fit as yet to play with his *own Tail*; for he was not so much as entered, nor never had been at a *Chace*, at least, I dare venture to assert, he had never been in at a *Death*; but he was of *Ring-leader*'s Breed, so must be provided for, at whatever Disgrace, Expence and Loss to the Country in general, and the Company in particular.

BUT this, being too gross an Imposition on the World, fell under the Cognizance of a *general Court* of the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Stock, when *Master* was not only suspended from his *Presidentship*, but rendered incapable of serving the *Company* in any shape whatsoever; which

Censure

Cenſure the *old Hound* deſerved more richly than the *young Puppy*.

THUS was the Nation to be expoſed, and the Company's Intereſt to be ſacrificed to the private Views and Deſigns of our *new Reformers!* Thus was the Company's Intereſt and Credit intirely ſunk abroad amongſt the diſcerning *Spaniards*, and *Britons* became deſpicable from the many different Samples that they had ſeen amongſt them.

THIS was the very Rock on which the *Royal African Company* was wrecked, *oppreſſing* and *not paying* their Servants; for which Reaſon they cou'd find no-body of Capacity and Credit to ſerve them; and, I hope, their *Honours* will do me the Juſtice to acknowledge, that I prognoſticated their Fate, ſome Years before it came to paſs, and told them of it in plain Terms, as appears by my *Obſervations* before-mentioned.

BUT, lucky for the Company! in this Interim their *Sub-governor*, Sir *Richard Hopkins*,

Hopkins died, and was ſucceeded by *Peter Burrell*, Eſq; a Gentleman of undoubted Honour and Integrity; but, as I obſerved before, the Diſeaſe was deſperate, and the Remedy to be applied too late.

METHOUGHT I ſaw a Parcel of *Moles* working hard under ground, throwing up Dirt to beſpatter others, whilſt the very Dirt, gathered together in a Heap, by its own ſpecifick Weight, the Mound being undermined, tumbled down upon themſelves, and ſmothered them.

I HAD a very large Field here to obſerve; though ſome hundreds, to my certain Knowledge, had lain under particular Obligations to Sir *John Eyles*, not one of a hundred appeared with common Gratitude, and even ſome of them, who had acquired handſome Eſtates by his Favour and Protection, moſt ſcandalouſly turned the very Weapons againſt him.

SOME time after my Arrival at *Jamaica*, I heard of my faſt Friend, Sir *John Eyles*'s Death, which gave me much

Concern, as it was a great Loſs to our Country in general, eſpecially the diſtreſſed Part of them; for his Humanity and Generoſity were ſo extenſive, that, if two or more Perſons of equal fair Character and Merit, applied to him for his Countenance, he was always ſure to aſſiſt the moſt diſtreſſed; but the Loſs was more particularly great to me, as it deprived me of an Opportunity of acknowledging my Gratitude perſonally, to diſtinguiſh myſelf from the common ungrateful Herd of Mankind, who lay under much more Obligation to him: Yet I dare to ſay, that this very Gentleman had more Satisfaction in his own Mind, notwithſtanding all the Ingratitude he met with, for the good Offices he had done, than the avaricious Miſer poſſibly can have in heaping up all his Mountains of Treaſure.

THE only certain diſtinguiſhing Mark of Mankind, by all that I have learnt in this World, is, "He who does the moſt good "Offices and feweſt bad, whilſt he has "it in his Power, is the beſt Man, & "*vice verſa*;" the firſt is an *angelical Virtue*,

Virtue, the reverſe a *diabolical Vice*, and I am fully convinced from this, and innumerable other Obſervations of the ſame kind, that *Self-love* is the original Source and Spring of all Actions in human Life, Good as well as Bad.

THIS was the third Time I made my Appearance on the grand Stage of Life: "Now, ſaid the World, he muſt be *rich* "but a *great Villain*, for he does not pay "his Debts ſo many Years owing."— "True, ſaid I, I don't pay all my Debts, "for a very good Reaſon, I have not "Money enough: They come to a great "deal more Money than you know of, "or can imagine; and tho' I have at leaſt "double that Sum owing to me, I cannot get at it; ſo *Patiençia por fuerça*." Well! up comes a little ſcoundrel Fellow, "Why don't you pay me? ſays he, "you cannot be an honeſt Man; but— "I'll make you one."

THERE's no Torment on Earth can equal this to a generous Soul! a mere

Hell upon Earth! I can only declare upon Honour, that I never desired Life upon any other Account, than to do Justice to all the World, and to shew my Gratitude to my Benefactors: At the same Time I do acknowledge, that I have lost one Estate by my own *Vanity* and *Folly*; I have *spent* another tolerable one by my own Mismanagements and bad Conduct; and I have lost a third very considerable one by my real Misfortunes in Trade; and I still hope to have a better Estate at my Death, than any of the three to be applied to the aforesaid Uses: For, whenever I had an Opportunity of creeping into Business, I launched out very considerably, and, though in so doing I have sustained great Losses, I can still safely say, *That I have a great deal more Money owing to me than I owe*, (either on the Score of *Credit* or *Gratitude*) the common *Salvo* for Incapacity to discharge pecuniary Obligations.

WHAT is attributed to *Accident* or *Chance*, generally speaking, is entirely owing

ing to Judgment, as appears in the Game of *Back gammon*, what we commonly call *Chance* depends moſtly on Judgment; for he, that has the ſuperior Judgment in a Courſe of Play, will certainly get the better at laſt, let *Luck*, take which Side ſhe pleaſes. Let two *Gameſters* ſit down to play, with *ten Guineas* each in his Pocket, and agree to play *one Guinea* a Game, till one of them loſes his ten Guineas, the one, I ſuppoſe, to have a much *ſuperior* Judgment in the Play than the other. *Luck* or *Chance*, which ever you are pleaſed to call it, may give the firſt ten Guineas to the Player of *inferior* Judgment in the Play, till the other is ſtripped; yet, in the Courſe of Play, the *Advantage* muſt have infallibly fallen to the Player of *ſuperior* Judgment, if he had had Money enough to have continued the Play any conſiderable Time.

An emblematical Repreſentation of this World!

UNDER theſe Perplexities, and Anxieties of Mind, as well in publick as in

private Affairs, (for our *Prime Minister* by this Time had made up his *Harlequin*'s *Coat*, a very compleat Piece of *Patchwork*, the *Convention* made at the *Pardo*, the 14 of *Jan.* 1739, N. S.) I went into the Country to Sir *John Eyles* (who some Years before he died) retired from all manner of Business, and opened myself freely to him, and told him, that there was an absolute Necessity for my returning to the *West-Indies*, under the Protection of the *Assiento Service*, if possible, to save my Effects from perishing, and consequently myself from Ruin; and asked him, "If he was well-"acquainted and in Friendship with our "new Sub-governor, Mr. *Burrell?*" He answered, "Yes; *Burrell* is a Man of "Honour, but he will find Difficulty "enough to do any Thing for you amongst "those People; they are a malicious Set, "and will admit no-body in the *Company*'s "*Service* but their own *Creatures*, if they "can possibly help it: However, I will "speak to Mr. *Burrell* about you."

ACCORDINGLY, some Days after I met

met Mr. *Burrell* accidentally in the *Court of Requeſts*, who knew me by ſight, and told me, that Sir *John* had ſpoke to him about me, and deſired me to wait on him at his Houſe; which I did, when I opened myſelf to him with the ſame Freedom, I uſed to do to Sir *John Eyles*: But, he being juſt then choſen *Sub-governor* in the room of Sir *Richard Hopkins*, the Direction was entirely new to him; yet he was ſenſible of the Difficulties of re-inſtating me in the Service with the People who had turned me out. But, to come to the Purpoſe, he aſked me, "If "I had any one of the *Directors* to ſign "my Petition? and who?" I anſwered, "Yes; *Courſer* would ſign my Petition." He was greatly ſurprized at that; for this Gentleman was a leading Man, of the factious Party in the Direction, and always went hand-in-hand with *Ring-leader*, who had ſet up one in Oppoſition to me, for the Vacancy I then puſhed for: So he aſked me again, "If I was ſure of "him?" I anſwered, "I was very ſure, "he durſt not refuſe his Hand to the Gen-

" tleman who promiſed me to aſk it; " but God only knew his Heart." Accordingly, this very Gentleman ſigned my Petition to the *Court of Directors*, at the ſame time, I'll venture to ſay, he balloted againſt me.

HOWEVER that might be, though I loſt this Point, I gained another, in being re-inſtated in the Honourable Company's Service, as *Surgeon* to their Factory at *la Vera Cruz*, and entered into ſuch Bonds with Sureties as the *Honourable Court of Directors*, my Maſters, required; and was ordered by them, the 4th of *Auguſt*, 1738, to proceed to the ſaid Factory, by the Way of *Jamaica*, as appears by their Inſtructions to me of the ſame Date. I ſet out on my Voyage for *la Vera Cruz* in *America*, in the beginning of the Year 1739, by Way of *Jamaica*. I was ſcarce arrived at *Jamaica*, when we had the News of Reprizals with *Spain*, and ſoon after of a Declaration of War againſt that Crown. I own that I had ſo indifferent a Notion of the *Convention* from the beginning,

ning, that I thought it could not be durable; yet I never doubted but the *Patch-work* might have ſtuck together for two or three Years, till I could diſpoſe of, and gather in my Effects, which was all I wanted from it for my own private Uſe; but an *immediate Rupture* diſconcerted all my Meaſures, and plunged me into greater Misfortunes than ever; and has been the Cauſe of a whole Series of Troubles during this long War.

I WAITED at *Jamaica* eight Years in Expectation from Year to Year of my honourable Maſter's Commands, in full Hopes of a Peace, I hope an honourable Peace, or none, for I am ſure *Great Britain* had Strength enough in the *Weſt-Indies* to force them into any Peace, or blow them into the Air; and, as for my own private Intereſt, I would ſuffer the greateſt Miſery, rather than have Peace upon any other than honourable, juſt Terms; till then I hope my Honourable Maſters will put me upon the compaſſionate Liſt, as one of their oldeſt, and, I

may

may say, most faithful, *Without-flattery-servants.*

FOR, to accomplish my Designs, I had concerted and agreed with one Capt. *Fennell*, (who was then under the Protection of our Deputy-governor, *John Bristow*, Esq;) to buy a Vessel in Copartnership, to be employed in the Company's Service; and betwixt us we had Interest enough to procure her the *la Vera Cruz* Station, where I was to reside, and the Captain was to command the Vessel on that Station to and from *Jamaica*. Accordingly, we purchased the Vessel, fitted her completely out for Sea, and she was immediately taken into the Company's Service: We also borrowed from my Friends, to carry on our Plan, about 3000*l.* but the unexpected and sudden breaking out of the War disappointed all our Views; so that the Vessel made one Voyage only in the Company's Service, tho' a very profitable one; yet, thro' the *Infidelity* of the Captain, and the *Dishonesty* in his Accounts, the 3000*l.* were almost sunk in twelve Months Time,

Time, and the dead Weight fell upon me; for the Captain not only left his *Truſt*, but his Country too, (I ſhould rather ſay *Great Britain*, for he was an *Iriſhman*, which to my Sorrow I knew when too late) which ſunk my Credit, both at Home and Abroad intirely, and almoſt ruined me beyond Redemption.

THE *Fraud* muſt certainly have been deſigned by him from the very firſt ſetting out; for, by Agreement in *London*, we conſigned all our Goods and Effects in Joint-ſtock, value about 3000*l.* to Capt. *Turner* in *Jamaica*, and the Bills of Loading were ſigned accordingly; but he *(Fennell)* got to *Jamaica* before me, and I do believe deſigned to take up theſe Bills of Loading, and put all our Effects into the Hands of one *John Curtin*, a Countryman of his own, with whom he had combined; and I never could recover them out of his Hands, till at laſt the Remedy proved worſe than the Diſeaſe.

I HAVE

I HAVE had greater Losses than this, in the Course of my Business, but never any that bore so hard upon me; for now I was not only *dunned*, but *upbraided* by my *Friends*, for I bore the Blame of all. I own it was intirely on my Account that the Money was lent; therefore I lost both my Money and my Friends; and what small Portion I recovered of the 3000 *l.* I was obliged to get by a tedious and expensive *Chancery-suit* in *Jamaica*, which Remedy in the Consequence proved as bad as, if not worse than, the Disease, all eat up in Costs and Law Charges, for I was three Years before I got a Decree, and three Years more without being able to get the Chancellor's final Decree put into Execution, which I imputed chiefly to the Marshal and his Bailiffs playing Booty; for his Soul was in no-wise superior to his Bum-bailiff's; a fine Country indeed! where a Chancellor's Decree cannot be enforced and executed in three Years Time, by Execution! *Vend. Exp.* and *alias Writs* unheard of in Chancery.

I MET with one Mr. *Beawes* at *Jamaica*, who was a *Creature* of the *factious* Party in the Direction, and lately ſtationed for *la Vera Cruz*: They had ſet him up in Oppoſition to my Intereſt, and, as they ſtill had a Majority of Votes in the *Court of Directors*, they got him placed over me.

HE had a very large Cargo from his Friends at *London*, (or rather, under the Roſe, at *Jamaica*) deſigned for *la Vera Cruz*; but he was ordered to keep it very ſecret from me. We very ſoon differed; for it was an impoſſible Thing for us to ſet our Horſes together, as our Intereſts were diametrically oppoſite; he behaved in a very *ſcoundrel* Manner to me, and I treated him as ſuch; and accordingly had him publickly chaſtized, with all his Accomplices, which he richly deſerved. Notwithſtanding, he proceeded on his Voyage to *la Vera Cruz*, where he and his Cargo were ſeized, whilſt I remained at *Jamaica*. In this Voyage they ſunk about

about 10,000 *l.* from *Jamaica*, and double that Sum from *London*.

UNDER this Situation of Affairs, being involved in a great many thouſand Pounds at Home, my Effects thus embezzled at *Jamaica*, the *Aſſiento Trade* ſtopped, ſo that I could not recover a Farthing of my Effects from the *Spaniards*, nothing but an uncommon Stock of Spirits, eſpecially in the decline of Life, could have ſupported me from ſinking under ſuch a *heavy Load* of Diſappointments; at the ſame time that I was obliged to ſupport myſelf in the moſt expenſive Country, perhaps, in the whole World, with the additional Burden of a *Chancery-ſuit* for the Recovery of my Effects; but I was reſolved to ſtruggle to the very laſt, with my utmoſt Efforts, for the retrieving my Honour and Credit, ſunk in ſo vile a Manner by the Villany of others.

THEN I turned my Thoughts intirely to try if any thing could be done in *private Trade* upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, where I was

I was perfectly well-acquainted: Accordingly, I was principally concerned in fitting out and assorting the Cargo of two Vessels, and part Owner in both; I went the Voyage myself, and the Method of Trading was thus:

THEY either set out five or six, more or less, small Vessels in Company, and under the Convoy of a *Man of War*, or singly by themselves, manned, as they called it, with *fifty* Hands on board, or upwards; but whilst they are under Convoy only with *twenty*. The Captain of the *Man of War* won't let them stir from one another; so some through Malice, others through Envy, the rest, to draw their Commission of 12 and a half *per Cent.* sell at all Events, every one endeavouring to under-sell and undermine one another, at any dirty, low Rate, or even by Tricking, and the cunning *Spaniard* all this while slips no Opportunity to improve that Strife to his own Advantage; so that the Price of every Thing were reduced to *one Third* of what they were when

I lived

I lived amongſt them in the *Aſſiento Company*'s Service.

WE uſed to ſell the Company's *Negroes* ſingly, Men and Women, from 280 to 300 Pieces of Eight, but in that private Trade 120 to 130 was the higheſt, and all other Goods in Proportion. I own the *Spaniards* were at a very great Expence, and run much Riſk in buying Goods in that clandeſtine, contraband Way; for they had no leſs than twelve different Guards to paſs from *Porto-bello* to *Panama*, and every one of them muſt be paid in paſſing; and perhaps, after they had paſſed and paid eleven, the twelfth ſeizes upon all, or makes them pay through the Noſe for it. Our Expences and Coſts in this private Trade were likewiſe very extravagant; for we paid *five per Cent.* on all ſold for the Uſe of the Convoy, whilſt the *Dutch* reaped the Benefit of our Convoy for nothing.

IF we went without Convoy, manned fifty Sailors at 5 *l.* a Month, and great Diffi-

Difficulty to get them too at any Price, with the Hire of the Veſſel at 80 *l.* a Month at leaſt, it became a moſt exorbitant Charge, whilſt the *Dutch* ſailed at a very ſmall Charge, and conſequently able, and always willing enough to under-ſell us at leaſt 25 *per Cent*, and the *French* alſo had the Liberty of their Ports during that War.

FROM the long Experience I have had in that Trade, in all its different Shapes, I dare venture to aſſert, that the ſame Quantity and Quality of Goods, employed in the *Aſſiento*, yielded triple the net Proceeds in Caſh, to what they did employ'd in that *forced private Trade*; and that whilſt the *Aſſiento* Trade was preſerved in its full Force, with all its Immunities and Privileges, it produced three times more Caſh to *Britain*, than all that private Trade put together during that War, or at any other Time when the *Aſſiento* was interrupted.

THIS is a great Truth within my own

Knowledge ever ſince the Year 1724, which obliged me to knock off that *private Trade*, finding, that, inſtead of extricating me out of, was plunging me into deeper Embarraſments, there being very conſiderable Sums of Money loſt by it, and an entire Stop put to our *Britiſh* Manufactures: For, as the Traders paid ſo much by the *Fardo* (a Burden of 75 lb. Weight) to the Guards; which was adjudged by the *Quantity*, not the *Quality*; ſo that the Coſts on a *Fardo* of *Bays*, or *Long Ells*, was as much as on the ſame Quantity of Gold, Silver, or *Flanders* Thread Lace: Whilſt the Trader could afford conſiderable Coſts on the laſt, the firſt would in no wiſe anſwer them.

THERE was a *Jamaica* Merchant of ſome Credit and Reputation in *London*, who wrote a Pamphlet, entitled, *Conſiderations on the* AMERICAN TRADE *in the* WEST-INDIES, aſſerting, "That the "Trade to the *Spaniſh* Coaſt was carried "on, by the *private Traders* in *Jamaica*, "with more Advantage to the *Britiſh* "Com-

" Commerce, than by the *Aſſiento Com-*
" *pany.*" I anſwered him with *Obſervations on thoſe Conſiderations*, publiſhed at *London*, in the Year 1741-2, giving a full and exact Account of that Branch of Trade in all its different Channels, where in it plainly appears, when that Trade is carried on by the *Aſſiento Company* in its right Courſe, it returns three times more Money in ready Caſh to the *Britiſh* Commerce, than in any other Shape whatſoever: But that is ſubmitted, with the Arguments *pro* and *con*, to the Judgment of the Reader. I ſhall here only aſſure him, that I was not in any wiſe prejudiced in Favour of the *Aſſiento Company* as one of their Servants, when I wrote thoſe *Conſiderations:* I pleaded impartially as a true *Briton*, for what was moſt advantageous to the Nation in general; and *London* in particular has experienced the Truth of thoſe Arguments. It is true, I have ſeen from Time to Time in the *London* Newspapers ſeveral *Puffs*, " That there were
" ſuch and ſuch a Number of Veſſels ar-
" rived at *Jamaica*, from the *Spaniſh Main*

" immenſely rich, having ſold their *Eu-*
" *ropean* Goods to great Advantage, *&c.*
But the Prices, and Ballance of Accompts of the *London* Merchants with their Correſpondents at *Jamaica*, will diſcover the *naked Truth*.

WHILST we were trading upon the Coaſt, Admiral *Vernon* was knocking down their Caſtles at *Porto-bello* and *Chagre*, which at firſt ſeemed to me very preposterous. However, I found Trade anſwer as well, if not better, at that Time than any other during the War; for the *Spaniards* are in ſome meaſure to be compared to the Breed of our *Spaniel Dogs*, the more you beat them, the more they fawn upon you; for there is no Nation in the World ſo proud and haughty in *Proſperity*, nor ſo mean and dejected in *Adverſity*.

WHEN we returned from this Voyage, we found *Jamaica* under a terrible Conſternation, and not without Reaſon, as appears by the following Letter.

" *To*

" *To* PETER BURRELL, *Esq*; *Member*
" *of Parliament*, LONDON.

" *Sir*,

" SINCE my Last I have only to
" acquaint you, that the Situation
" of our publick Affairs here is most ter-
" ribly altered.

" THE *Ferrol* Squadron, consisting of
" twelve Sail of Line of Battle Ships un-
" der the Command of Don *Roderigo de*
" *Torres*, is got safe into *Cartagena* Har-
" bour, about two Months ago, and car-
" ries proper Materials with them, for
" careening the six Sail of Line of Battle
" Ships, they had there before; so they
" are now eighteen Line of Battle Ships
" strong ready to put to Sea.

" THE *Brest* and *Toulon* Squadrons are
" met, and are now got safe into the
" Harbour of Port *Louis*, *Hispaniola*, con-

" ſifting (as I am credibly informed) of " above twenty Line of Battle Ships, be- " ſides Tranſports, Tenders, *&c.* com- " manded by the *Marquis d'Antin*; " whilſt Admiral *Vernon* continues here " in Harbour with ten Line of Battle " Ships only, feeding himſelf with Ex- " pectations of a Reinforcement equal to " the Strength of our Enemies. The Re- " ſult of all this God only knows!

" *Quis talia fando temperet a Lachrymis!*

" WE have a perfect Stagnation of all " Trade here, attended with an univerſal " Diſcontent; the Northern Forces are " arrived to the Number of three Thou- " ſand fiveHundred, under the Command " of Colonel *Gooch*, and Lieutenant Co- " lonel *Cope* (Brigadier *Blackney* came a- " long with them, I don't know his " Command) which quiets the Minds " of the People a little; the reſt we muſt " refer to Time.

" I AM willing to let you know, Sir, that

" I am

" I am alive, and continue with a firm " Attachment to be,

" Sir,

" your moſt devoted

" and obedient, humble Servant,

" JAMES HOUSTOUN."

" *Jamaica, Dec.* 14, 1740.

WE were greatly revived from our Conſternation at *Jamaica*, by an Expreſs from his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, principal Secretary of State, *&c.*

" *To his* Excellency EDWARD TRELAW-
" NY, *Eſq*; *Governor of* Jamaica, *&c.*

" *Sir*,

" I MUST beg leave to refer you to " my Letter to Vice-admiral *Vernon*, " which I have deſired him to commu- " nicate to you, for a particular Account " of the preſent Situation of Affairs, of " the naval Force which *France* and *Spain*

" have ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, and of the " Direction which the *Lord*'s *Juſtices* " have thought proper to give for a very " conſiderable Fleet to go under the " Command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, with " Lord *Cathcart* to *Jamaica*, in order to " join Vice-admiral *Vernon* there.

" You will alſo ſee the Account we " have received from the *Northern Colo-* " *nies* in *America*, of the great Succeſs " with which the Levies are carrying on " there, the Number of Men that may " be expected from thence, the Place of " Rendezvous, and the Time of their " ſailing; and I am deſired by the *Lords* " *Juſtices*, to recommend it to you in a " particular Manner, to take the beſt " Care you can, for the quartering or en- " camping thoſe Troops as ſoon as they " ſhall arrive in *Jamaica*, and for keep- " ing good Diſcipline amongſt them, till " the Lord *Cathcart* ſhall arrive, and for " the preventing any Deſertion, if that " ſhould be apprehended.

" THO'

" THO' we hope there is little Rea-
" ſon to apprehend any Attempt upon
" *Jamaica*, yet, as no Dependance can
" be had upon the Declarations of *France*,
" nor any certain Judgment to be made
" as to the Conduct of *Spain*, I am per-
" ſuaded you will take neceſſary Mea-
" ſures and Precautions againſt any Sur-
" prize.

" I HAVE wrote to Mr. *Vernon*, to
" give you all poſſible Aſſiſtance, in caſe
" any Attempt ſhould be made againſt
" you, and as the Troops from the *Nor-*
" *thern Colonies* will probably ſoon arrive
" in *Jamaica*, they may be of great Uſe
" to you upon any ſuch Occaſion. I am
" perſuaded that Colonel *Gooch*, who you
" will ſee, upon Major General *Spotſ-*
" *wood*'s Death, has, purſuant to *his Ma-*
" *jeſty*'s Orders, taken upon him the Com-
" mand of thoſe Troops, will be ready
" to employ them for the Defence of the
" Iſland, if there ſhould be Occaſion, in
" the

" the beſt Manner he is able. I heartily
" wiſh you Succeſs, and am,

" Sir,

" *Whitehall*, Your moſt obedient,
" *Sep.* 12, 1740.

" humble Servant

" HOLLES NEWCASTLE."

THO' his Grace of *Newcaſtle* was then of Opinion, and hoped, that there was little Reaſon to apprehend any Attempt upon *Jamaica*, yet the abſolute Certainty of it came to be diſcovered afterwards, in *his Majeſty*'s own Royal Words, in his Declaration of War againſt the *French* King, at St. *James*'s, the 29th of *March*, 1744, amongſt other juſt Complaints, in Violation of all publick and private *Faith*, open Breach of *Treaties*, violating the *Laws* of Nature and Nations, " by ſend-
" ing in the Year 1740, a ſtrong Squa-
" dron into the *American* Seas, in order
" to prevent us from proſecuting the juſt
" War

" War, which we were carrying on againſt " *Spain* in thoſe Parts; and we have the " moſt authentick Proof, that an Order " was given to the Commander of the " *French* Squadron, not only to act in a " hoſtile Manner, againſt our Ships, either " jointly with the *Spaniard*, or ſeparately; " but even to concert Meaſures with our " Enemies, for attacking one of our prin- " cipal Dominions in *America*; a Du- " plicate of that Order, dated the 7th of " *October*, 1746, having fallen into the " Hands of the Commander in Chief " of our Squadron in the *Weſt-Indies*.

" THIS injurious Proceeding was " greatly aggravated by the *French* Mini- " ſter at Court, having declared, on Oc- " caſion of ſending the ſaid Squadron, that " the *French* King was very far from hav- " ing any Deſign, or Intention of break- " ing with us."

CAPTAIN *Herbert*, of his Majeſty's Ship the *Norwich*, being out on a Cruize, by the moſt extraordinary lucky Accident ima-

imaginable, met at Sea with a *French* Man of War Snow, commanded by a *French Count* who was carrying the Original Order, for the *French* to join the *Spaniſh* Fleet, a Duplicate of which *His Majeſty* mentions. When the *French Count* found himſelf ſurprized, he threw his Diſpatches over-board, which prevented the Conjunction of the two Fleets, at that Time, with all its diſmal Conſequences: But at all Hazards Capt. *Herbert* brought the *French Count* to *Jamaica*; yet, as his Diſpatches were deſtroyed, and no Papers appeared againſt him of any Conſequence, and no War being then declared with *France*, Admiral *Vernon* releaſed him. This happened about two Months before the Arrival of our grand Fleet, under the Command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, to join Admiral *Vernon*.

KINGS are commonly ſaid to be the *Source* and *Fountain* of all *Honour*; but, methinks, a *King* without any Honour in himſelf, is the moſt deſpicable of all Creatures.

THERE'S

THERE's no Nation in the World so perfidious as the *French*; so that now-a-days *Gallica Fides* is become a synonimous Expression with the ancient *Punica Fides*; and *England* has had Examples of this *Gallica Fides*, to their fatal Experience, from *William* of *Normandy* the Conqueror, and all his Successors, to King *John*, who granted the *Magna Charta*; and even He, and his Successors afterwards, made several perfidious Attempts to infringe and break it; till *major vis* obliged King *John* to hearken to Reason, which otherwise he never would have done, and restore and re-establish his Subjects in their ancient Rights and Privileges, plundered and robbed from them by his arbitrary and tyrannic *Norman* Predecessors; and indeed his own Inclinations were as bad and wicked as any, had his Capacity and Abilities been equal to them: Yet, I hope, they were then settled upon a sure and solid Foundation, the Basis of all our Liberty and Property, never to be shaken, but in the Ruin of those who attempt it:

There-

Therefore *Britons* beware of another *Conqueror* from that Country!

Burnt Children ought to dread the Fire!

BY his Majesty's Royal Words from the Throne, it evidently appears, that the Marquis *D'Antin*, Commander in Chief of the whole *French* Fleet on that Expedition, had secret Orders to join the *Spanish* Fleet, under the Command of Don *Roderigo de Torres*, in order conjunctly to make a Descent on *Jamaica*, and, as I was credibly informed, one Day in a Council of War, they pressed the Marquis *D'Antin* very much to put those Orders in Execution; setting forth the Facility of taking *Jamaica* before the Arrival of the *British* Fleet: "*Oui*, *Oui*, Messieurs, "said the Marquis, it is easy enough for "us to get to *Jamaica*, but how shall we "get back again?" And sure enough the grand Fleet under the Command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, consisting of ten eighty Gun Ships, nine of seventy Guns, and nine of sixty, with six of fifty and under, besides Fire-ships, Bombs, *&c.* making above

above 150 Sail in all, Tranſport Ships and Veſſels included, with ten Battalions of Soldiers, beſides 3500 Land Forces from the *Northern* Colonies, *New England*, *New York*, and *Virginia*, by far the greateſt Navy and Army that ever was ſeen, or heard of, in the *Weſt-Indies*.

THEY arrived at that very critical Time, ſo, had the combined Fleets proceeded on their Deſign as projected, they muſt certainly have met with this grand Fleet; and we had ſtrong Reaſons to expect a complete Victory; at leaſt I wiſh'd from the bottom of my Soul, that they had put it to the Tryal.

THERE was indeed a Sort of *Rencontre* at Sea between three or four Ships, detached from this grand Fleet, and a like Number of *French* Ships: The Attack happened in the Night-time, as they ſaid, by Miſtake; however it might be, they continued firing at one another, and blundering on both Sides for moſt Part of the Night; but, as there was then no *Decla-*

ration

ration of War with *France*, in the Morning at Day-break, they left off by Consent of both Parties; the *British* Ships rejoined the grand Fleet to proceed on their Voyage to *Jamaica*, and the *French* Ships returned to their Fleet, then in the Harbour of *St. Louis*, *Hispaniola*. There were also two or three Ships of the Line-of-battle, belonging to the Fleet, separated by a Storm, which were safe, but never arrived at *Jamaica*.

BEFORE this grand Fleet could join Admiral *Vernon*, who waited at *Jamaica*, to take upon him the Command in Chief of the whole *British* Fleet in the *West-Indies*, in order to go with all Expedition to pay a Visit to the Marquis *D'Antin*, but his Lordship was gone (luckily for him) with his whole Fleet for *France*; and, tho' his Lordship made a very short Stay, not above two Months at *Hispaniola*, his Fleet was reduced to great Straits, for want of Provisions, Naval Stores, *&c.* which caused a very considerable Mortality

lity amongſt them, before their Arrival in *France*.

THEN Admiral *Vernon*, miſſing the *Marquis*, proceeded on his deſigned Expedition to *Cartagena*; but, very unfortunately, my Lord *Cathcart*, who was Commander in Chief of all his *Britannick* Majeſty's Land Forces on that Expedition, died in the Paſſage from *England*, univerſally regretted by his whole Army, and every good Man, that had the Honour of his Acquaintance, and much more unfortunately for the Service, as he was ſucceeded in his Command by Major General *Wentworth*, a Gentleman no ways equal to ſuch a Command: As indeed, Admiral *Vernon* ſaid to one of his Aids de Camps, on purpoſe that it might be told him again, *That he was more fit to be a* Wapping *Attorney, than a General, with his low Cunning, equivocating, and chicaning Tricks.*

I DO acknowledge, that he was a Man of no great Underſtanding, and, as Admi-

ral *Vernon* rightly obſerved, what Underſtanding he had exerted itſelf in low, mean Cunning, and Reſerve; and tho' he was not unmannerly or rude in Converſation, yet, methought, he had the leaſt of a Gentleman about him, of any one that ever I had the Honour of knowing in ſuch a ſuperior Station, with a down-caſt-look, ſo as never to look one in the Face, tho' there was no Reaſon to doubt his perſonal Courage.

ON the other hand, Admiral *Vernon* was a down-right honeſt Man; he had a hearty Zeal and a ſincere Attachment for the Service of his King and Country; but abhorred the then Prime Miniſter; he was a very good Sea-officer, and kept a moſt ſtrict Command in Diſcipline; but he was prodigiouſly paſſionate, and unmannerly, rude, and abuſive in his Paſſion: In ſhort, notwithſtanding the Affectation of Humility in his Undreſs, he was exceeding proud: It is too true, that they had the greateſt Contrariety of Tempers, and an utter Abhorrence to one another;

the

the Original *Source* of all the Miſcarriages on that Expedition!

The Bane of all Britons!

Diviſion and *Contention*, *Bribery* and *Corruption* amongſt ourſelves, with all their direful Effects, and calamitous Conſequences, are now come to ſuch a *Criſis*, that they muſt infallibly kill, if a Cure is not immediately found out; they admit of no Delay; but, like the *Roman* State,

We muſt die, to live again.

WHEN Admiral *Vernon* left *Jamaica*, the Command in Chief of all his *Britannick* Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the *Weſt-Indies*, devolved on Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, who kept a much better Look-out for the *Spaniſh* Commerce to take Prizes, than to protect and encourage the *Britiſh* Commerce, and ſucceeded accordingly; for he took three Prizes for Admiral *Vernon*'s one, and ſome of them very rich too; and in the Proportion of Time made ſix Times the Money; ſo that an Officer, that was made Captain of a Man of War

by him, reckoned the Ship ſo far his own Property, by how much he could make of her: And indeed their principal Buſineſs was to make the moſt of the Ships for their own Service, rather than for that of their King and Country.

ADMIRAL *Davers* ſucceeded Sir *Chaloner Ogle* in the Command in Chief; but I cannot ſay, that the Navy behaved much better under that Gentleman's Command: For I remember, in the Year 1746, the Admiral received timely Information from the Lords of the *Admiralty*, that there was a Fleet of *French* Merchant Ships, under the Convoy of two large Men of War and two Frigates, to ſail from *France* to the *Weſt-Indies*, at ſuch a certain Time; and he was informed of the Courſe, as well as the Number, with ſtrict Orders to intercept their Paſſage, with all his *Strength*, in order to give a good Account of them. Accordingly the *Admiral* (unlucky that he did not go himſelf!) ſent four ſtout Line-of-battle Ships, with one of forty Guns, *viz.* the *Strafford*, *Plymouth*, and *Wor-*

Worceſter, 60 Guns, the *Lenox* 70 Guns, the *Milford* 44 Guns, the *Drake* Sloop, and the *Wager*, a new 20 Gun Ship followed: (The Admiral's own Ship the *Cornwall* of 80 Guns remained in the Harbour at *Jamaica*; and I heard the Admiral ſay, that ſhe was very foul, not able to keep up with the Fleet, and that he was obliged to mann the reſt of the Fleet from her. It is certain, that when the Fleet ſailed, there were not 100 Men left on board of her: But I don't preſume to excuſe or vindicate this Conduct, which was all of a-piece with the reſt of their Management.) A Force ſuperior enough to blow the *French* Squadron (conſiſting of only *four* Ships of War, one of 74, another of 64, a third of 50, and the fourth of 44 Guns) into the Air, or ſink them into the Sea, under the Command of Commodore *Mitchel*.

THE two Squadrons met at Sea, ſure enough, and were eleven Days in Sight of one another, ſometimes within a League or two, but there was nothing done, only

a ſmall Bruſh in the Night-time for two or three Hours, when the *French* were the *Attackers*; and our Commodore ſaid he never could get up with them afterwards, notwithſtanding the *French* had *ſixty* deep-loaded *Merchant-men* at leaſt to protect and cover; which they did effectually, whilſt our Commodore was purſueing, which the *Jamaicans* called, *convoying them into their Harbour*, to the great Reproach of the *Britiſh* Squadron.

IT ſeems as if the *Britiſh* Navy had forgot their ancient Way of Fighting, to fall on at once, without ſaying *Grace*: They are become a great deal more cautious now-a-days than formerly. It is true, they had greedy Eyes on theſe rich Merchant-ſhips for Prizes; but the *French* Commodore would not conſent to it without fighting; ſo our Commodore was ſo very complaiſant to *Monſieur* ———, as not to meddle with them at all, but only ſaw them ſafe into *Cape François*, *Hiſpaniola*; and ſo returned *ſafe* into the Harbour of Port *Royal*, *Jamaica*, without loſing

loſing one Man in the Battle, which afforded Matter of *Scandal* for the People of *Jamaica* for ſome Months, who excel in that Quality above all the World that I have ever ſeen.

I NEVER was a Sea-man, conſequently no competent Judge of this Caſe; but it ſeemed to put me in mind of the *Car-men* of the City of *London*, who ſtand at ſome little Diſtance one from another, make a terrible loud Noiſe, talk big in *Billinſgate* Language, but ſeldom or never come to Blows; if they do, 'tis very often only for a *Bruſh* and away.

HOWEVER it fell out, this was certainly another fine Opportunity ſlipt, of deſtroying the whole *French* Trade in the *Weſt-Indies* irrecoverably during this War; for, by demoliſhing theſe *Men of War*; all the *Merchant-men* would have became Prizes of courſe, which would have prevented the *French* from carrying off their *Sugars*, and greatly aſſiſted us in carrying off ours, which lay upon our Hands at

that Time for want of Shipping, and conſequently to enhance the Prices in *European* Markets at our pleaſure.

THE News of this bad Conduct (to ſay no worſe of it) ſtruck Admiral *Davers* to the Heart; and I really believe was the Cauſe of his *Death*; for, after Enquiry, he languiſhed under a *Depreſſion of Spirits* for ſome Weeks, and died.

HE was a good-natured, mannerly Gentleman, and, whilſt he had the Command in Chief, was very careful and diligent in protecting and encouraging the *Britiſh* Trade, according to the beſt of his Knowledge and Information, which was but *lamiſh:* And, though Governor *Trelawny* and he were Friends, and both alike affable, yet they were conſtantly kept at Variance by vile Incendiaries about them.

" Bold were the *Men*, who on the
" Ocean firſt
" Spread the new Sails, when Shipwreck
" was the worſt:

" More

" More Dangers *now* from *Man* alone
" we find,
" Than from the *Rocks*, the *Billows*, and
" the *Wind*.

WALLER.

WHILST they were knocking down thoſe Caſtles, I was trading on the Coaſt with the *Spaniards*, which gave me an Opportunity of hearing the Sentiments of the better Sort of them, I mean the tradingPart. It is true, no *Spaniard* of any Figure will be ſeen in this *contraband* Trade himſelf, but he ſends his Money by ſome *Corredor* (Broker) to be employed in Trade; and theſe little Fellows ſpeak their Maſters Sentiments, intermixed with their own very freely. There was a general Diſcontent at this long War, even in the *Weſt-Indies*, who did not feel the Weight of it; regretting and lamenting the Deſtruction of Commerce, which they were very ſenſible muſt end in the intire Ruin of their Country. It is almoſt impoſſible to think of the Miſery *Old Spain* has been reduced to by it; and the *Spaniards*, even in *America*,

rica, had Sagacity enough to *lay the Saddle on the right Horse.*

A FOREIGN Prince on the Throne, governed by a *more Foreign* Queen, whose ambitious Views and Projects were intirely separated from the Interest, and diametrically opposite to the Good and Commerce of *Spain*; which must certainly end in the Ruin and Destruction of their Mother Country: A *Queen*, who might properly be stiled the *Firebrand* of *Europe*, and indeed it was absolutely impossible that *Spain* could ever thrive whilst that *Lady* had any Influence in her Councils; for, the better she succeeded in her Schemes, the worse it must be for *Spain*; and the *Spaniards* themselves were very sensible of all this, but knew not how to help themselves; as appears from the many intercepted Letters that I have seen and read in their Correspondence between *Old* and *New Spain*, from whence I learnt the Miseries that *Old Spain* was reduced to, groaning under such a Load of *Oppression*, as would have drawn Tears from a Stone.

A

A BUTT of Wine in *Old Spain*, formerly worth from 60 to 70 Dollars, was now offered for 10 or 12 Dollars, and often could not find a Purchaſer even at that Rate; ſo that a Vintage, farmed at 6000 Dollars *per Annum*, would not fetch one ſixth Part of the Rent, yet the poor Farmer, according to this Valuation, was obliged to furniſh a Man for the War; and, if he could not find Money enough to fit out a Soldier, he was forced from his Farm with Wife and Family, and preſſed into the War himſelf, to ſerve as a ſingle Soldier; and their Correſpondents particularized ſeveral amongſt their Friends and Relations uſed in this Manner. And, though they did not feel the Weight of this War in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, (for they bought Goods a great deal cheaper than from the *Spaniſh* Commerce) yet the low-life People even went to Exclamations againſt their Sovereigns, and the univerſal Cry amongſt all Ranks of People was, *Peace with* Britain, *and War with the whole World!*

New Spain has felt none of these Miseries; for they only wanted a greater Plenty of Goods, which their Governors would not allow of, to feed their Luxury and Vanity, with their superfluous Money, that they did not know how to dispose of otherwise.

I MUST own, that it is a Misfortune for any Country to have a *Foreigner* to rule over them, but much more so to an absolute Government, than to a limited one, who always will have Views separate from the Country he governs, for they cannot coincide in every Thing; and it is impossible to shake off this *Dulcis Amor Patriæ*; but in a limited Government the Sovereign is tied down to the Laws of that Country he governs, by a mutual Contract between King and People, which he cannot break through, without *unkinging* himself; for it is a Maxim in our Law, by the Constitution, *That the King can do no wrong, unless he* unkings *himself by Breach of his Covenants*;

nants; his Counſellors are anſwerable for all his Actions.

WHAT Beauty, methinks, there is, and Majeſty enough at the ſame time, in that Speech the King of *Great Britain* made to his Parliament in the Year 1745, on Occaſion of the *unnatural Rebellion*, then raiſed againſt him by the malicious Contrivance of his foreign and domeſtic Enemies.

HIS Majeſty ſays, "I have, through "the whole Courſe of my Reign, made "the Laws of the Land the Rule of my "Government, and the Preſervation of "the Conſtitution in Church and State, "and the Rights of my People, the main "End of my Actions, *&c.*" He is a great and good King in ſo doing, and no farther is He the King of *free-born* Subjects.

AND his Majeſty further ſays, "The "Maxims of this Conſtitution ſhall ever "be the Rule of my Conduct."

IN his Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Lords Address are these Words, "Your Concern for the Preservation of "our excellent Constitution in Church "and State, is as agreeable to me as the "Zeal you express for me and my Go-"vernment."

AGAIN, in his Answer to the Commons Address, "Whatever Strength you "shall place in my Hands, you may be "assured shall be employed *only* to pro-"mote the Good and Happiness of my "People; and to secure to them the per-"petual Enjoyment of their *Religion*, "*Laws*, and *Liberties*."

THESE are not only Words but Deeds, and such is our great and good King by Contract.

AT the same Time the Kings of *France* and *Spain* published their Edicts, requiring every Subject to pay the tenth Penny of all he was worth.

Porque tel est notre plaisir.

AND,

AND, if that will not do, they press every tenth Man for their Service, because that is their Pleasure too.

These are Kings *only of* SLAVES.

THERE'S no Nation in the World, that I know of, adore their King as the *French* do; they adore him as a *God*, and, though they are a volatile, changeable People in every Thing else, they are constant and fixt in this Adoration; even to the last Extremity, when they were reduced to the greatest Distresses and Misery by the vain Glory of their *grand Monarch*, *Louis* XIV. they adored him as their Saviour, *Le Roy, & le bon Dieu*, were put upon a footing.

THE *Spaniards* go upon a different Footing, they have too exalted Opinions of themselves to *adore* their *King*; what Adoration they pay above themselves is to their *Priests*.

THE *Spaniards* and *French* are as diametrically opposite to one another in their Way

Way of thinking as *Eaſt* is from *Weſt*: So it muſt be a very *unnatural Union* between theſe two Nations.

WHILST the King of *Great Britain* raiſes *nine Millions Sterling*, voluntarily from his own Subjects, in nine Hours, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* cannot raiſe an equal Sum by all their Edicts in both their Kingdoms in *nine Months*.

The French *ſerve their* KING, *whom they adore.*
The Spaniards *ſerve their* PRIEST, *whom they adore.*
The Modern Britons *and the* Dutch *ſerve* MONEY, *which they adore.*

I HAVE ſeen what was ſaid to have come from the Hands of Meſſrs. *John Cathcart*, and *David Campbell*, reputed Privy Counſellors to the late Lord *Cathcart*; called a Plan of the Operations for this grand ſecret Expedition, with my Lord *Cathcart*'s Manifeſto at his landing amongſt the *Spaniards*, which theſe Gentlemen bragged of having a principal Hand

in

in themſelves: But, with all due Deference to thoſe Gentlemen's ſuperior Judgment, it appeared to me but as a ridiculous Project, to land 10,000 Land Forces at *la Vera Cruz*, to conquer the Kingdom of *Mexico:* Yet ſurely they had Forces enow, to execute any reaſonable Project in the *Weſt-Indies*, under a Commander in Chief of ſo much Honeſty, Courage, and good Conduct, as the late Lord *Cathcart* was ſaid to have.

WHILST Admiral *Vernon* and General *Wentworth* were upon their Expedition to *Cuba*, I had with me one of the *Alcaldi*'s of *St. Jago de Cuba*, on board of a trading Veſſel I then had upon the Coaſt, who left the Town of *St. Jago de Cuba* ten Days after their Arrival at *Cumberland* Harbour, who told me, "That it was unanimouſly "agreed on and reſolved in their *Juntos*, "(of which he was a Member, and one "of the principal Men of that Place) "that, upon the Attack of the Town of "*St. Jago de Cuba*, which was not at all "able to make any Defence, being in-

" tirely open, to make ſome Shew of " Defence for *Honour's Sake*, and then to " retire into their Caſtles and Fortifications " in the Harbour, where they had pro- " vided accordingly, and placed all their " valuable Effects: For (as he alſo aſſured " me) they could not raiſe 600 able Men " to be depended on, the Governor of " *Havanna de Cuba* having ſwept the " Country of Men for the Defence of that " Place." Therefore the 1000 *Negroes* they carried from *Jamaica* on that Expedition, was ſufficient Force to have taken the Town of *St. Jago de Cuba*; and conſequently done the Buſineſs effectually.

THIS *Alcaldi* likewiſe aſſured me, which can be eaſily atteſted, that the Roads from *Cumberland* Harbour, where the Army landed and the Fleet lay, were as clear and paſſable as any in the *Weſt-Indies:* And, by taking Poſſeſſion of the Town, which I really believe, from other good Information, might have been done with little or no Reſiſtance, they would have had a *Blockade* for the Fortifications

in

in the Harbour, which are very ſtrong indeed, eſpecially towards the Sea; but they muſt have capitulated in a ſhort Time, without firing a Gun, for want of Water; for, as the ſaid Perſon alſo told me, all their *Tank-water* was not ſufficient to ſupply the ordinary Garriſon above three Weeks; and they were obliged to fetch their Water at three Miles diſtance, which they conſtantly did at that Time to ſpare their *Tank-water*; but had not had the Fore-ſight to fill their *Tanks*, never expecting to be attacked by Land; and that Communication was very eaſily cut off by an advanced Party from the Town. But our General thought fit to let his Army die like Rats, Hundreds upon Hundreds, without firing a ſingle Shot, for fear of alarming the *Spaniards*, and indeed, it appears clear to my Underſtanding, that they never had a Deſign of taking Poſſeſſion of that, or any other Town in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. I only ſpeak of theſe Things according to the Light I have ſeen them in; what private Reaſons there might be, for not doing of

it, I ſhall not pretend to account for, as they are *Politicks* greatly above the Reach of my Apprehenſion.

WHEN they could not take the Town of St. *Jago de Cuba*, how could they conquer the Kingdom of *Mexico?*

I HAVE all due Regard for theſe Gentlemen's Capacity, ſufficient enough in their own mercantile Way, but no ways equal to the projecting, carrying on, and executing ſuch a grand Project and Undertaking: But they projected very well for themſelves, for they engroſſed two of the moſt lucrative Poſts and Employments on the whole Expedition, and knew very well how to play all the *Game* to make the moſt of them.

JOHN CATHCART, Eſq; was *Director General* of the Hoſpitals, and Purveyor for all the Sick and Wounded of his Majeſty's Land Forces on that Expedition, and accordingly contracted with one Mr. *Hamilton* and Company, to provide the Sick with all Neceſſaries at *two Shillings Sterling*

Sterling a Day *per Head*; a very handſome Allowance even in that Country, where all Proviſions are very dear: Yet it was ſo very badly performed, that the poor ſick Soldiers were periſhing for Want of the common Neceſſaries of Life, and an Houſe to lie in. Upon theſe crying Calamities there was a *Court Martial* held, to enquire into the Cauſe of the Neglect, and to diſcover the Delinquents: But, upon Enquiry, it all ended in ——— *Nothing*.

THEN they built an *Hoſpital*, as they called it, for the Sick; fifty Huts of Mud, thatched with *Palmeto* Leaves; which coſt 200 l. *Sterling* each, and the whole Number of courſe 10,000 *l. Sterling*; whereas they might have built better *Huts*, by employing twenty *Negroes* for twenty Days Time, at the Expence of 20 *l.* each *Hut*: But theſe were laid out and built under the Direction of the Engineers of the Army, wherein they ſhewed their Ingenuity more, than at the little Fort of *San Lazaro* at *Cartagena*.

THEN there was a new Contract made with new Contractors, at two Shillings *Sterling* only for the Maintenance of each ſick Soldier, for they were furniſhed with Medicines from the Cheſts of Medicines belonging to the Army, and the Articles of due Performance were drawn up under a Penalty: With theſe new Regulations I officiated in the Care of the Hoſpital, by Deputation from Dr. *Graham*, *Phyſician General* to the Army on that Expedition; and I dare venture to ſay, calling the whole Hoſpital to witneſs, during my Time, there was great Plenty of the very beſt Proviſions, and all manner of other Neceſſaries for the Sick, and Money enough beſides for the Contractors; for they had made a very good Bargain; and I had my Share of it, whilſt I officiated amongſt them; and I don't at all doubt, but the ſame Care was continued, under the Gentleman's Direction who ſucceeded Dr. *Graham*.

THESE were very good *Pickings* for the Pay-maſter and his Aſſociates, becauſe theſe,

theſe, and all other contingent Charges were paid at the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, and they deducted 5 *per Cent.* Poundage, as they called it; ſo there was only 115 *l. Jamaica* Money paid for 100 *l. Sterling*, for which Receipts were paſſed for the *Pay-maſter* in full of all Demands. I *myſelf* was paid at this Rate, whilſt the Exchange for the Army was paid at a greater Advance, fluctuating from time to time: But how Mr. *Pay-maſter* and his *Aſſociates* divided the Spoil I can't tell; for I could never learn their proportional Shares. "Theſe were the *Reformers* of "Abuſes, and *Complainers* of Injuſtice "done in *Exchange of the Money!*"

I REMEMBER to have ſeen a Dialogue on this Subject, betwixt *John Colebroke* and *John Merrywether*, Eſquires, ſaid to be wrote by Mr. *Colebroke*. A curious Piece!

I ANSWERED by a Paper, entitled, *The Development* of *John Colebroke*, Eſq; wherein the *great General*, the *great* Mr. *Manning*, Major *Chamberry*, and *John*

Colebroke, Esq; were the *Dramatis Personæ:* But I have lost both, not being worth preserving.

THERE was indeed a large, handsome, convenient *Hospital* built in *Jamaica*, for the Reception of the sick and wounded *Seamen* of his Majesty's Navy, by the Direction of Admiral *Vernon*, the most beautiful Edifice, the best contrived, and commodious for the Climate, and completely fitted up in a better Manner than any *Hospital* that ever I have seen out of *Europe*; but it must likewise fall to ruin very soon, for want of proper Regulations and Officers under a right Direction, for the whole Business already seemed to be, *Who should make the most of it!*

IN short, the whole Expedition appeared to me like a *Tragi-comical Farce*, a great Multitude of People got together, all striving and scrambling *who should get uppermost*, at any Rate, by fair, or foul Means, with Plenty of Money stirring amongst them, very unequally divided; for, whilst some were lining their Pock-

ets

ets with Gold, I have ſeen the poor Soldiers ſtarving in the Streets for want: And indeed how is it poſſible, that even a *ſubaltern Officer* can ſubſiſt in a Country, where he cannot get a Dinner for a Day's Pay, and muſt pay 6 *s.* 3 *d.* of that Country Money for a Night's Lodging, or lye in the Streets? But the only great *Struggle* ſeemed to be, who ſhould get moſt of the *Spoil* and *Plunder* amongſt themſelves, without having any malicious Views or envious Deſigns againſt the *poor daſtardly Spaniards*.

BUT as for the grand *Project* it was a *Secret*; I never expected, and entirely deſpair of ever coming to the real Truth and Knowledge of it; for I did really believe, as it only lived, ſo it died with our *Prime Miniſter* and Cardinal *Fleury*, perhaps Mr. *Wentworth* might have had ſome *private Inſtructions*, but I dare venture to ſay, Admiral *Vernon* had none, nor the leaſt Communication or Correſpondence with the *Prime Miniſter*. The *Admiral*'s Head was not turned to be a *Courtier*; his

his Paſſions were ſo ſtrong, they left no room for *Diſſimulation*. The very *Spaniards* obſerved of him, that he was the only *Engliſh* Admiral, that ever they knew, to ſay any Prayers at all; for he was indeed very regular and obſervant of his *Devotion*, and I believe in earneſt in all his other Buſineſs.

HOWEVER it may be, it made *Money* circulate in *Jamaica*, and enriched that Iſland greatly, with no great Diſadvantage to *Great Britain*, further than the Loſs of ſo many Hands by Mortality, for the *Spaniards* did not kill a great many of them. It is true, there were ſome hundreds of them run their Heads againſt a dead Stone Wall in the very Mouths of Cannon, at a poor little Fort, called *San Lazaro*, near *Cartagena*, (where I have ſlept many a Night) becauſe their General bid them do it.

WHEN the *Vice King* had an Account of this *Action*, he ſaid, *If my Maſter had ſuch Men as theſe, what could he not do?* He was an old experienced Officer; by his

his military Diſcipline and regular Conduct he ſaved the Town of *Cartagena*; for he timely ſent off before the Siege all the Women, Children, and ſupernumerary Clergy, and kept all the effective Men in Town with all their Effects; nay, he was ſo ſtrict, that every Man was ſearched when he went out of Town to ſee his Family, and not allowed to carry above *five Piſtoles* at a Time, and find Security for his Return: All which he acted upon this ſolid Maxim, *That if they will not fight for their own Effects, they will never fight for their King and Country.*

As for the *Caſh* that was ſpent upon the Expedition, it all returned to *Britain* in a very ſhort Time, but left *Jamaica* much richer, and in much better Credit than formerly.

In ſhort, methought I ſaw a great Heap of *Money* thrown amongſt a great *Mob*, all ſtriving who ſhould get moſt of it; ſo that the ſtrongeſt is ſure of carrying off the greateſt Share of the Spoil; others indeed

deed may get a few Pickings, but *The Weakeſt muſt certainly go to the Wall.*

THUS was the Nation bubbled and diſgraced; for the War ſeemed to be made more upon ourſelves than againſt our Enemies.

WE owe the Iſland of *Jamaica* to that moſt extraordinary *great* (I may likewiſe ſay *wicked*, for he was not a *King*) *Man*, *Oliver Cromwell*, which is now one of the beſt Jewels in the *Britiſh* Crown. It is ſituated in the very Heart of all the *Weſt-Indies* as if the *Almighty Author of Nature* had placed it there on purpoſe, on account of the Commodiouſneſs of its Situation, for Trading with the *Britiſh*, *Spaniſh* and *French Weſt-Indian* Colonies.

THERE's no Nation in the World can maintain a *numerous Army* and *Navy*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, but *Britain* alone by the Help of *Jamaica*, as appeared by the Expedition in the Year 1740, when that Iſland fed above twenty thouſand Strangers,

gers, (to my certain Knowledge) beſides its own Inhabitants, for above twelve Months, without any Scarcity, or any other Inconveniency than *raiſing the Price* of *Proviſions*; nor did they leave any Scarcity behind them, yet the advanced Prices continued; and it is certain, there's no Place in the known World, where *Proviſions* are in ſuch Plenty, and ſo dear as in *Jamaica*, which is a Sign of the Plenty, and conſequently the Cheapneſs of Money; for a *Spaniſh Real*, (called a *Bit*) which is *Seven-pence Half-penny* currency, the loweſt Species of Coin they have there, is of no more Value than a Half-penny in *England*, there muſt have been a greater Plenty of *Money* in *Jamaica*, in proportion than in any other Place; or, that *Money* was extraordinary cheap, or greatly undervalued there: But the real Cauſe was a *Combination* amongſt the *landed* Intereſt in the *Aſſembly*.

IT is a very great Diſadvantage to the Country in general, to have no leſs Currency than this *Bit*, but more particularly

ly affects and distresses the Poor; yet this *Oppression* is supported by the *landed Interest*, (of whom the *Assembly* consists) from which they reap a considerable Benefit, the Produce of their Plantations being all manner of *Eatables*, Fruits, Greens, Roots, *&c.* which are paid for at extravagant Rates, as well by the Labour of the working Mechanicks and industrious Poor, as the Extravagancies of the trading Part of the People, the *Planter* from his *Penns* reaping the Fruit of both. But in all other his *Britannick* Majesty's Colonies in the *West-Indies*, a *Bit* is divided into at least four Parts Currency.

WE have no occasion to fight our Enemies in the *West-Indies*, if we are true and faithful amongst ourselves; and not supply them with Provisions, naval Stores, *&c.* nay we can starve them out, as is very evident above.

I HAVE seen a Computation, made by those who were allowed to be competent Judges in these Affairs, that all the *Plantation*

tation or *Cane Land* in *Jamaica*, sufficiently cultivated, and fully ſtocked with Negroes, Cattle, Works, *&c.* one Acre with another, produced 20 *l.* *Jamaica* Currency *per Annum, communibus annis.*

MR. *Carver*'s Plantation was reckoned the beſt in *Jamaica*, and there were *eleven Acres* of that Eſtate (as I was informed by the Overſeer) that yielded *fifty one Hogſheads* of Sugar one Year with another; and the whole Eſtate was reckoned to produce *three* Hogſheads an Acre, one with another.

IN the marſhy Ground there grows a long ſtrong Graſs, taller than an ordinary Man's Height, (commonly called *Scotch* Graſs) very good for feeding of Horſes, *&c.* I have heard an Owner of one of theſe *Scotch* Graſs-pieces ſay, that an Acre of this Land would produce Graſs ſufficient to maintain ten Horſes yearly at 10 *l.* a Head, which is a 100 *l.* yearly: And, at a very modeſt Computation, an Acre feeds at leaſt ſix Horſes all the Year round in

Graſs

Graſs, at 10 *l.* a Head, which is 60 *l. per Annum*, but the common *Paſture-lands* (commonly called *Penns*) don't produce one ſixth Part of this Money, and this Graſs-land is cultivated at a very ſmall Expence, at moſt *fifty* Negroes is ſufficient to keep *fifty* Acres in good Order all the Year round, which is a very ſmall Stock in compariſon of *Cane-land*: And, take all the Country of the Iſland of *Jamaica* round, it has perhaps the greateſt Produce of any Land in the known World, when rightly cultivated.

THO' I have lived long in *Jamaica* from time to time, yet I am no judge in planting Affairs; but I have made a ſufficient Enquiry only for my own Satisfaction; and am of Opinion, that this Calculation will anſwer at a *Medium*: Therefore, if fully peopled and ſtocked, that Iſland would bring a prodigious *Revenue* to the Crown of *Great Britain*, and an immenſe Treaſure to the Subjects.

I HAVE likewiſe heard it aſſerted, "That

" That the Iſland of *Jamaica*, joined " with the reſt of his *Britannick* Ma- " jeſty's Colonies in the *Weſt-Indies* bring " more Money to the Crown of *Great* " *Britain*, than the whole *Spaniſh Weſt-* " *Indies* bring to the Crown of *Spain*." And thus far I can ſay, that I am really of Opinion, that *Jamaica* alone brings more Advantage to the Crown and Subjects of *Great Britain*, than the whole Kingdom of *New Granada* brings to the Crown and Subjects of *Spain*.

WHEN I lived at *Cartagena*, I had an Opportunity of knowing theſe Affairs rightly. It is true the King of *Spain* has, or ought to have, his *Quinta (fifth* Part) of all the *Gold* and *Silver* dug from the Mines in the new Kingdom of *Granada*, and all his other rich Kingdoms, *Mexico*, *Peru*, &c. in his Dominions in the *Weſt-Indies*; and there are ſome very rich Mines in *Popayan* and *Choco* in this Kingdom of *New Granada*; for which Reaſon his *Catholick* Majeſty has a Royal Mint, with an Eſſayer-general, and all

other proper Officers under him, to receive all the *Gold*, *Silver*, &c. dug from the Mines, to eſſay, to give proper Certificates of its Value, and retain his Majeſty's *Quinta:* But I dare venture to ſay, at a modeſt Computation, there is not *one half* of what is dug from the Mines comes to account for the Payment of the *Quinta*, and what his Majeſty does get is all expended in that Country, towards the Maintenance and Support of his Royal Officers, other Officers, Guards and Garriſons, *&c. &c. &c.* So that all the Time I lived amongſt them at *Cartagena*, near ten Years, there never was *one* Piece of Eight, in the Royal Cheſts of the King's Revenues, of the Kingdom of *New Granada*, to my certain Knowledge; not only all being expended before-hand, but were greatly in Debt: And there is but little Reaſon to think, that they have been richer ſince the War with *Great Britain*, and the Demolition of their Caſtles.

WHEN I lived at *Jamaica* I computed 300 Sail of Ships and Top-ſail Veſſels yearly,

yearly, from 300 to 80 Tons, beſides a great Number of ſmall Craft, only to carry off the Produce of that Iſland, which comes to a much better Account to the Crown and Subjects of *Great Britain*, than the Produce of his *Catholick* Majeſty's Mines does to *Spain*, of which Foreigners chiefly reap the Advantage.

I REMEMBER to have heard the late great Earl of *Hallifax* ſay, in the Houſe of Lords, "That, in his Opinion, it "would be a great Diſadvantage to *Great* "*Britain*, to be in Poſſeſſion of the *Spa-* "*niſh Weſt-Indian* Mines; for, whilſt "the *Britiſh* Manufacturers ſtaid at Home, "to mind and improve their Manufac- "tures, they had ſo many *Slaves* work- "ing abroad for them in the Mines." And when this Trade is in a right Channel, and rightly improved, I know this, by long Experience, to be a great Truth, and the moſt beneficial Branch of Trade that I know, or ever heard of, in the whole World, with the Returns all in Specie.

Jamaica is governed by their own Laws, according to the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, though ſubjected to Appeals to the King and Council: The Inhabitants are a ſtiff, unruly, and ungovernable People, living almoſt like a Parcel of *Men-eaters* devouring one another; the *greater* eating up the *leſſer*. They are compoſed of (a very odd Sort of Medley indeed!) the Refuſe of the *Britiſh* Nation, intermixed with ſome *Iriſh*, and they, for the moſt Part, *Roman Catholicks* in Diſguiſe: (And it is a known Truth, there are no Enemies ſo inveterate againſt the *Britiſh* Nation, as the *Iriſh Roman Catholicks)* Tho' there was a very good Law in *Jamaica*, to prevent Dangers ariſing from profeſſed and concealed *Papiſts*, yet it is now repealed; but upon what Account, and for what Reaſons, I could never learn; and I wiſh, from the bottom of my Heart, they may never have Reaſon to repent the repealing of that Act of the Aſſembly.

I HAVE ſaid, that *Money is Emperor of the*

the World, and I am ſure, that it is the *Lord of Jamaica*.

THE *Jews* make up a very conſiderable Part of the Inhabitants, and have a larger Share of Trade than the *Chriſtians* in Proportion to their Number. I have no Averſion to any Man, or Set of People, for *Religion*'s Sake only; provided always, that the Tenets of their Religion are not contrary to the Rules of the Society I live in: But I do declare, that theſe were the worſt Set of *Rogues* that ever I knew, in the whole Courſe of my Life; a Set of meer *low-life Thieves*, (as bad as the *Negroes* themſelves, who are all naturally *Thieves*) the meaner Part of whom held a ſtrict Correſpondence with all *thieving Negroes*, from whom they received the ſtolen Goods. There was no Truſt or Confidence to be put even in the better Sort of them, in the moſt valuable Ties of all Society, the Bands of Commerce, the Breach of which is the Bane of all trading Societies; and, as they lived at a much leſs Expence than the *Chriſtians*,

by these Means, and their sinister Ways, they over-reached and greatly out-traded them in *Jamaica*, and some of them acquired great Estates.

I DO acknowledge their saving their Money and employing it in Trade encreases in a Duplicate, Triplicate, *&c.* Proportion, which proves a National Advantage to a trading Country; and at the same time I own, their under-selling the *Christians* by retail in the Community where they lived, to engross the Trade to themselves, was a general Benefit, by keeping the *Jamaica Christians*, who have no more Conscience than the *Jews*, from taking exorbitant Prices for every Trifle they sold.

THE Off-spring of the *British* and *Irish* make up a Set by themselves, called *Creols*, (all the Natives of his *Britannick* Majesty's Dominions in the *West-Indies*, of whatever Denomination or Colour are so called) who, generally speaking, get a Knock

Knock in the Cradle, which no Education is able to ſhake off.

THERE's no general Rule without an Exception; for I have known Men of great Capacity and Abilities in *Jamaica*, who would have made a Figure in any Part of the World, and as honeſt as the Place could well afford, being ſurrounded on all hands by *cunning* Knaves: (*N. B.* the great Lord *Verulam* gives *Cunning* the Title of *Left-handed-wiſdom:*) So that ſometimes they were obliged to make uſe of all the chicaning Weapons in *Self-defence*, to ſave themſelves, otherwiſe they muſt infallibly have been deſtroyed; for it is impoſſible for a moral honeſt Man, who launches out into Buſineſs, to live and ſubſiſt among them.

I HAVE known alſo ſome very clever Fellows, even amongſt the *Creols:* There was a pretty prevalent Cuſtom among them, *The longeſt liver takes all*; and he that has the moſt Money is the beſt Man amongſt them: So that a *Jamaica-Exe-*

cutor was reckoned better than the Heir; and I always obſerved the *Iriſh* hunted in Packs, and divided the Spoil; and whenever they miſcarried, they all contributed towards the Loſs. They were deep-mouthed Hounds! I had the Misfortune to encounter with a Pack of them, and they hunted me till I was almoſt worried ſeveral times: But I eſcaped from them at laſt by a long *Chancery* Suit.

THE *Governor* for the Time being is always *Chancellor*; the then Chancellor was a Gentleman of ſtrict Honour, and undoubted Integrity; in ſo much that, I verily believe, no Conſideration on Earth could have *biaſſed him* from what he thought *Juſtice:* But his greateſt Foible was,

Nemo ſine crimine vivit.

that he believed every body about him as honeſt as himſelf; whereas, to my certain Knowledge, there were Perſons about him the very reverſe, which ſooner or later he'll be fully convinced of, from his

own

own Experience, without any Information.

WHEN *His Excellency* was reſigning his Opinion to others, he was ſubmitting a *ſuperior* to an *inferior Underſtanding*, which laid him open to their mercenary Views and ſiniſter Deſigns, wherein he muſt find Difficulties in extricating himſelf: In ſhort, they mired his Excellency on all hands to ſuch a degree, that the faireſt Character could not eſcape without ſome Dirt, and ſome of it muſt ſtick hard and faſt, before his Excellency gets cleverly out of it. This brings to my Mind *Cicero*'s *great Man*, or rather *great Wonder*, amongſt the reſt of his Set.

Maximeque admirantur eum,
Qui PECUNIA *non movetur.*

This Sentence is worthy of *Cicero*; but I found it applied to my Lord Chancellor *Macclesfield*, by a Gentleman of the *Law* in a *Dedication* to his Lordſhip long before his *Impeachment*.

EVER

EVER since I have known *Jamaica*, which is almoſt thirty Years, I never knew a Governor there, that did not put himſelf into *Leading-ſtrings*: It is true, whilſt *Peter Beckford* lived, it was a Sort of *Force-put*; there was a Neceſſity for it, for thoſe who would not be led he drove; and, as the Saying is, *they muſt needs go, whom the Devil drives.* Indeed, he had both Ability and Capacity enough for it, and, had he lived another Age, in all probability, the whole Iſland would have become his own Property; but he has been gone *Home* ſome time ago; therefore ever ſince his Death it muſt be voluntary Reſignation, where there is not even an *Inclination* to withſtand.

THE Climate is very tolerable, with Plenty of Proviſions of all kinds, enough even to feed Luxury, but moſt extravagantly expenſive, even for the Produce of the Iſland.

ON the 20th of *October*, 1744, we had a moſt dreadful *Hurricane* in *Jamaica*, the

the only one (thank GOD!) that ever I ſaw in the *Weſt-Indies*. It began about Noon, and laſted about twenty four Hours, and blowed all the Shipping in *Port Royal* and *Kingſton* Harbours on Shore, except one of his Majeſty's Ships that rode it out. It did incredible Damage in Town and Country, by carrying off all the Wharfs, damaging Warehouſes and Works, lodging and rooting up the Canes, Fruit-trees, Plantain-walks, *&c.* In ſhort, the Damage was ſo very conſiderable, that it could not well be calculated exactly; but I have heard it computed at about 500,000 *l.* to the Iſland of *Jamaica* alone. Notwithſtanding the greateſt Part of the King's, as well as the Merchant's Ships and Veſſels, were got off again, which made the Loſs come out not near ſo terrible as at firſt imagined. And, what was very remarkable in this Storm, it did not reach the *French* nor *Spaniſh* Colonies, but confined itſelf within a few Leagues off of the Iſland of *Jamaica*.

THE

THE old People of the Iſland remembered former Storms, which, they ſaid, blowed much harder, but did not laſt a fourth Part of the Time, nor did half the Damage. Methinks, I have ſeen a greater Storm in *England*, which, indeed, always happened in the Winter-time, when there was nothing in the Fields to damage; and, the Houſes and Works being better and ſtronger built, it did not affect them ſo much; but their principal Loſs uſed to fall upon the *Shipping*, and indeed the chief Loſs of a *Weſt-Indian Hurricane* falls on them, which caſts the dead Weight at laſt upon the Mother Country, *Britain*.

BUT what ſurprized me greatly was, to ſpeak of this Hurricane a little philoſophically, that the *Trees* and *Buſhes* were ſtript of their Leaves, (and even of ſome of their Bark) as bare as in the middle of Winter in *England*, and in a *Week*'s Time after I ſaw all the Fields covered with Verdure, in *two Weeks* I meaſured Leaves full grown ſeven Inches, and eat the

the rough ripe *Figs*, in preſence of *Alexander Innes*, Provoſt Marſhal, and *William Lindſay*, Clerk of the grand Court, Eſquires, off of a Tree, that, as they atteſted to me, was quite bare *three Weeks* before. The quickeſt Vegetation perhaps ever known in the whole World! From a dead Winter to a Summer, or rather Harveſt, in three Week's Time! What is it then that Iſland is not capable of producing, if rightly cultivated, and were in the Hands of Men of *common Honour* and *Honeſty*, or Induſtry truly encouraged? But it is impoſſible for any Country to thrive, where *Liberty* and *Property* is not legally and equitably ſecured and ſupported in all Hands alike, with *Arts* and *Induſtry* equally encouraged according to *Merit* only.

THERE is a ſmall River here at *St. Jago de la Vega*, commonly called *Spaniſh* Town, which roſe to an incredible Height in twenty four Hours Time, at leaſt an hundred Feet perpendicular, which

which Inundation did great Damage to the adjacent Country.

THE Houſes of this Town, which is the Court of *Jamaica*, ſuffered greatly, as they are very meanly built. If I was to deſcribe them truly, I could only ſay, the People, live in the King's High-way, with a Cover over them to protect them a little from the Sun and Rain; for the Piazzas, which are the moſt uſeful Part of their Houſes, are in the King's High-way, the publick Street; ſo that every body that paſſes has the ſame Freedom of looking into your Houſe as the Poſſeſſor of it; yet theſe Huts let much dearer than fine Houſes in *London*.

UPON the back of this general Calamity, there was a *Conſpiracy* amongſt the *Negroes*, for a general Inſurrection, to deſtroy all the *white* People; but, before it came to Maturity, it was luckily diſcovered, and cruſhed in the Bud; otherwiſe a very ſhort Time would have carried the Scheme, which was very regularly

larly laid, into Execution, to the Deſtruction of the Iſland: For which Crime ſeveral of the *Negroes* ſuffered Death, ſome being burnt alive, and others hanged.

FROM the *irregular* Government of their *Negroes* in *Jamaica*, I have always dreaded ſome ſuch fatal Conſequence, and I wiſh, from my Soul, that what I have feared may never take place; for they have no manner of Diſcipline amongſt the *Negro-ſlaves*, neither Religious nor Civil, but the Exerciſe of the Whip and Stocks, and they are too often uſed very indiſcreetly, ſometimes wrongfully and moſt unmercifully.

THE *Negroes* are ſtubborn, reſolute and revengeful Creatures in their own Way; but ſeldom or never grateful. Their natural Temper appears in more lively Colours, as they are intirely without all manner of Education, and, generally ſpeaking, it exerts itſelf in *Low-cunning*, which they employ in Theft, or Revenge; and, when they have miſs'd of their Aim,

I have

I have known them very frequently revenge it on themſelves, by cutting their own Throats; as happened to the principal Ring-leader of this Conſpiracy, who, when he found the Plot was diſcovered, cut his Throat, and died hard, for he would confeſs little or nothing, though the Truth of it appeared to a Demonſtration to be a very regular laid Plot.

THERE was at that Time computed to be about 100,000 *Negroes* in the Iſland, and, by a Law of the Country, for every 10 *Negroes*, there ought to be one *white Man*; but this had been ſo very little obſerved, that, I am pretty ſure, at that Time there was not in the Country, on a modeſt Computation, *one white Man* for *fifty Negroes:* And the *white* Servants that come, or are ſent thither, are the very Scum of the Earth, and, generally ſpeaking, prove good for nothing; tho' there's no Country in the World where a *Tradesman* can earn ſo much Wages.

WHEREAS the *Spaniards* have much better

better Government and Diſcipline amongſt the *Negroes* in their *Weſt-Indies*; at their Introduction the *Jeſuits* take care to inſtruct them in ſome of the fundamental Principles of the *Chriſtian Religion*; and the *Aſſiento Company* cannot ſell their *Negroes*, without a Certificate of their being firſt *Chriſtned*, which is done in eight or ten Days from their Introduction, and ſometimes the *Baptiſm* is over in three or four Days, when Diſpatch is required for Sale, and a valuable Conſideration is given; but they are afterwards more fully inſtructed, and bred up in the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, the very beſt Religion in the World that I know of, to keep the Vulgar in a *ſlaviſh* Awe, and the greateſt and beſt Policy, to ſubject the whole Body of *Laicks* to the *Eccleſiaſtic State*.

I REMEMBER in the *Repriſalia*, 1727, I had a *Negro-boy*, who was bred up a *Roman Catholick*, amongſt the *Spaniards* at *Cartagena*, whom I always found to be very honeſt and true to his Truſt;

wherefore I did not care to part from him, ſo I brought him along with me to *Jamaica*, and left him there till I went to *London*; and about two Years afterwards, upon my Return, I carried him over to *Cartagena* again, ſtill repoſing the ſame Truſt in him as formerly: But I had not been there above two Months, before he ſtole a Cheſt of Rhubarb from me, value 200 *l. Sterling* prime Coſt in *London*. I challenged him with the Theft, but he denied it ſtoutly, inſtanced his former Truſts to ten times the Value, that he had diſcharged faithfully, reſolutely ſtood all Threats and Puniſhments, Confinement with his Head in the Stocks, a great many Whippings from time to time, *&c.* Tho' I was convinced that no-body but he could be guilty, yet I had ſome Remorſe about it, as it was not impoſſible that he might be innocent; ſo I gave it over intirely for loſt, till one Day I aſk'd the *Negro*, Who was his *Confeſſor?* He told me *Padre Antonio*, whoſe Siſter I was *intimately* acquainted with. I told her the whole Story, with the Promiſe of an hand-

ſome

ſome Reward upon Reſtitution. She anſwered me, "Leave the Management of that "Affair intirely to me; in mean time "you are to promiſe, upon your Honour, "that upon Reſtitution you are to aſk no "Queſtions of the *Negro:* In ſhort, ſaid "ſhe, you are not to ſay one Syllable "more to any one Perſon about it." All which I promiſed, and ſucceeded accordingly, whether by the Force of the Lady's Rhetoric, or the *Padre*'s Eccleſiaſtic Power of Perſwaſion I know not; but, in about ten Days Time, the *Cheſt of Rhubarb* was ſet down in the very Place from whence it was taken up, wanting about 6 *lb.* which I took no notice of, as the Remainder fetched me above 4000 Pieces of Eight.

The wonderful Force and Effect of Eccleſiaſtical Policy and Government!

I HAVE likewiſe been tranſiently at ſome other of his *Britannick* Majeſty's Colonies in the *Weſt-Indies*, *St. Chriſtopher's*, *Barbadoes*, &c. The Iſland of *Barbadoes* was regularly ſettled during the

Reigns of King *James* I. *Charles* I. and *Charles* II. and ſome of the beſt Families in *England* were concerned in the ſettling of it at their own Expence, and ſent their younger Sons to ſupport the Settlement, who were ſoon followed by whole Families of Credit and Reputation: But *Jamaica* was taken from the *Spaniards* in the Year 1655, and ſettled by a Parcel of *Oliverian Banditti*, whoſe Cuſtoms and Manners they have not as yet been able to ſhake off, and I am afraid never will.

I DO declare, and without Prejudice too, there was as great a Difference, in Point of Manners and Behaviour, between the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes* and thoſe of *Jamaica*, as between *St. James*'s and *Wapping*.

THE People of *Barbadoes* had ſomething of *Genius*, and a polite, genteel Education, as appears by their Miſcellaneous Eſſays on various Subjects, occaſionally publiſhed in two Volumes in 4to, entitled, *Carribbeana*, chiefly wrote by the Gentlemen

men and Ladies of that Iſland: Whereas few Gentlemen or Ladies of *Jamaica* knew how to write, or even ſpell truly to the End of a common Letter: The very Propriety and Accent of the *Engliſh* Language were quite corrupted in this Iſland, by converſing ſo much with *Mulatoes* and *Negros*; for they were ſo very cloſely intermixed, that they ſuckled, eat, drank, and lay together; wherefore their Tempers and Manners may be very eaſily accounted for. Moſt ſpent their Eſtates in their *Life-time*, others left what they had at their Death amongſt thoſe Creatures. I could give innumerable Inſtances of the firſt, and amongſt the laſt I remember one *Croſs*, a *Jamaica Grandee*, *Receiver General* of the Iſland, who acquired a very conſiderable Fortune, and lived, died, and left his All amongſt thoſe Vermin, whilſt his Brothers and poor Relations were ſtarving for Want. Moſt Part of the *Creols*, and a great many other Inhabitants, will leave the fineſt white Women of the Iſland, to enjoy and cohabit with thoſe Creatures; It is natural

for the *Creols* ſo to do, they ſuck in the *Affection*, or rather *Infection*, with their Nurſes Milk, and the reſt of the Inhabitants acquire it by Cuſtom and Habitude, which are a ſecond Nature.

Simile ſimili gaudet.

I COULD not ſlip a curious Philoſophical Account, and very juſt Obſervation on the Natives and Inhabitants of *Jamaica*, by an ingenious Gentleman, a Clergyman of Letters, lately arrived in that Iſland, and I cannot do him more Juſtice than to inſert it in his own Words.

To the Publiſhers of the JAMAICA GAZETTE, April 21, 1744.

——*Varium cæli prædiſcere Morem,*
Cura ſit, ac patrios cultuſq; habituſq;
Locorum,
Et quid quæq; ferat Regio, & quid quæq;
recuſet. VIRG. Geor. l. i.

SIRS,

" I HAVE by me a *general Map* of human Underſtanding, with all the " Depths and Shallows of the Mind, the " Ebbs

" Ebbs and Flows of Humour, and the " Variations of the Compaſs of Wit, " throughout the whole habitable Globe. " I here ſend you an Extract of the parti- " cular Chart laid down with the utmoſt " Exactneſs for this Climate. The Au- " thor of this intellectual Coſmography, " if I may ſo call it, is very ſingular in " one Circumſtance of his Style; whatever " Country he deſcribes, he ſpeaks always " of it as his own, a ſtrong Inſtance of his " Impartiality, and Unwillingneſs to give " Offence, and that he eſteemed himſelf " a Citizen of the World.

" THE *Torrid Zone*, ſays my curious " Traveller, has no where ſo remarkable " an Influence on the Diſpoſitions and Ca- " pacities both of *Europeans* and Natives, " as in the *Meridian* under which I now " reſide. The Imagination, in the Lati- " tude of JAMAICA, is found, from the " niceſt Obſervation, to be lively, tho' the " Judgment don't appear altogether ſo " firm. The Faculty of Attention is con- " ſiderably diminiſhed, but the Quickneſs

" of Apprehenſion is increaſed in juſt " Proportion. *Horace* ſays,

" *Cælum non Animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.* Epiſt. xi. l. i.

" But in his Time this Part of the World " was unknown, otherwiſe he had ſaid, " with reſpect to a Voyage hither,

" *Cælum atq; Ingenium mutat, qui trans* " *mare currit.*

" THE Natives and Inhabitants of this " Climate enter warmly into any Propoſal " for the publick Good, and cool as ſud- " denly. This ſurprizing Change wrought " on the Mind by the Operation of the Air " may be illuſtrated, and poſſibly ex- " plained, by Inſtances drawn from Natu- " tural Philoſophy; but, as Phyſical Proofs " ſerve more for Entertainment than In- " ſtruction, I ſhall entirely wave them.

" THE Proverbial Saying, *That ſecond* " *Thoughts are beſt*, will by no means hold " good in this Iſland. The Latitude of " eighteen to nineteen, I abſolutely affirm, " admits

" admits of no *second Thoughts*; but who-
" ever lives in it, be he never so *transient*,
" must follow the Impulse, or rather *Im-*
" *petus* of his Genius, in order either to
" act or write well. All Resolutions, whe-
" ther Publick or Private, must be carried
" into immediate Execution, otherwise
" the good Intention evaporates, not from
" any Vice of the Mind, but from the
" mere mechanick Effect of the Consti-
" tution of the Air.

" A MAN cannot persist here in pub-
" lick Spirit, for want of animal Spirits,
" which quickly exhaust themselves. If,
" by some lucky Hit, the scattered Rays
" of Policy, or Wit, be gathered into a
" *Focus*, let 'em exert themselves effec-
" tually; for the Moment they are dis-
" persed, there is an end of all their
" Action.

" A PERSON, whose Composition
" you would one Moment imagine to be
" all Mercury and Volatile Salt, becomes
" the very next an insipid Piece of Earth

" wha

" what the Chemists call *Caput Mor-*
" *tuum*, or **Terra damnata**, which last
" Term some rashly apply to the Island
" itself.

" PERHAPS it may be objected, *That*
" *my Advice tends to hurry Folks on into*
" *too hasty Conclusions, which, upon more*
" *deliberate Views, would allow of much A-*
" *mendment, if not appear wholly rash; that*
" *great Caution and Circumspection is re-*
" *quisite to digest a Scheme; that every ac-*
" *cidental, as well as necessary Consequence*
" *ought to be taken into Consideration.* This
" sober Method of Proceeding is, I grant,
" absolutely proper in *Europe*, among
" People of a dull and phlegmatic Tem-
" perament, who are for the most Part
" of the Year involved in Fogs. There
" the Fancy is not alert enough to strike
" Things out at the first Heat, there Time
" and Leisure are wanting to bring the Pro-
" ductions of the Mind, as well as those
" of the Earth, to due Maturity; but we
" in this Isle may apply to ourselves the

" Cha-

" Character *Dido* gives of herſelf and Sub-
" jects,

" *Non obtuſa adeo geſtamus pectora Pœni,*
" *Nec tam averſus equos Tyriâ Sol jungit ab*
" *Urbe.*

VIRG. Æn. l. i.

" HERE the Sun is ſo kindly, that it
" forwards the Powers of the Soul, like
" the Juices of ſome Trees, where you
" ſee Bloſſoms and ripe Fruits at the ſame
" Time; that is, we can conceive a Suc-
" ceſſion of Projects, ſome crude and
" green, e're others are well concocted;
" but with this Difference from the Bear-
" ings of our Trees, that the Fruit of our
" Brains becomes rotten as ſoon almoſt as
" ripe, and therefore their Point, or De-
" gree of Perfection, is to be narrowly
" watched, elſe they fall immediately to
" the ground. Now this cannot be ac-
" counted for by the general Principle of
" Gravity, which inclines Bodies to their
" Centre, for Deſigns drop here from
" mere Levity.

" IN

"IN short, the Dwellers in *Europe* are "utter Strangers to what we call the "*prickly Heat*, which I take to be a fu- "rious Incentive to the Imagination, it "ſtimulates like an *Oeſtrum*, or *Gad-Fly* "at home. Therefore I take this Climate "to be very favourable to Poetry, and we "might lay out all the flowry Roads of "*Parnaſſus* in this Iſland, which I moſt "humbly recommend as a proper Em- "ployment for the *wild Negros*.

"PHILOSOPHY, 'tis true, and other "Matters of dry and barren Speculation, "would not ſuit this Air by many de- "grees; we could not toil thro' the irk- "ſome Proceſs of a Problem in *Mathe-* "*maticks*: But what need have we of "taking all the tedious Steps of Demon- "ſtration to come at Theorems, when "every Propoſition we make is a Self- "evident Truth at firſt Sight. We ne- "ver ſhould have the Patience to argue in "Mood and Figure, or fetter ourſelves up "to the Form of thoſe methodical Syl- "logiſms which require a *Major* and a "*Minor*;

" *Minor*; but we can do better with-
" out either, by employing an *Enthymeme*.
" This indeed the Sophiſts call an imper-
" fect Syllogiſm, but very unjuſtly: For
" the Logical Definition of an Enthymeme
" is, the Whole of Thinking, or the en-
" tire Action of the Mind. Now if all
" this can be included in a ſingle Propoſi-
" tion, does not that imply a greater
" Perfection, in Ratiocination, Argumen-
" tation, or Diſputation, call it which
" you will, that School-boys, or School-
" men value themſelves ſo much upon?
" We can draw Inferences without the
" Formality of laying down Premiſes, or
" the Ceremony of proving Things by
" any intermediate Term. Nay, we de-
" ſpiſe all *Mediums* between the Tropicks.
" We can eſtabliſh Propoſitions by direct
" Aſſertion, without any Trouble of De-
" duction or Connection, or the mor-
" tifying Pains of giving Reaſons for what
" we ſay.

" In one word, Things ſpeak and
" prove themſelves here otherwiſe; I
" proteſt

" proteſt I don't know how they would " be proved. And who would talk pro- " blematically, when we can as ſafely " talk dogmatically? I mean dogmatically " in the good philoſophical Senſe of the " Word; that is, who would ſpeak with " Diffidence, when (Thanks to the Cli- " mate) he is at Liberty to affirm what he " will poſitively?

" I KNOW not a People upon the " whole Round of the Earth, who have " vindicated the original Right of Free- " dom, (*Slaves by Nature* are in courſe " excepted) or rid themſelves from the " cumberſome Shackles of Thinking to " ſo thorough good Purpoſe as we. It " is abſolute Tyranny and Uſurpation to " pretend to eſtabliſh an arbitrary Art, or " Syſtem of Thinking. *Logick* is down- " right Prieſt-craft, and flouriſhed moſt " in the Times of Popery and Sla- " very; but *Free-thinking*, (the Mind's " exalted Privilege) *Religion*, *Politicks*, and " *Literature*, were happily introduced with " the

" the glorious Bleſſings of *Liberty* of Per-
" ſon and Property of Goods. However,
" it is not, nor can be, ſo fully enjoyed
" any where as in this moſt delightful
" Spot, this Paridiſe of *America*, or, to
" ſpeak more faſhionably, this *Elyſium* of
" the *New-found World.*

" HERE the Author breaks off ab-
" ruptly with ſaying, That he could pro-
" duce an unanſwerable Reaſon for what
" he laſt aſſerts; but that the penetrating
" Reader will gueſs it, and the candid
" Reader will excuſe him from giving it.
" By this I concluded, that he had an In-
" tention to publiſh this Draught, and
" therefore communicate it to you, as a
" proper Subject for the *Jamaica Gazette*.

" I am,

" Your moſt obedient,

" humble Servant,

" BRITANNUS."

IN what Contempt then muſt ſuch People expect to be held in, when they'll find ſome of the firſt Rank and Dignity of *Great Britain* deſpicable for want of a proper Education, and mannerly Behaviour? When they go to *Great Britain*, (Home as they called it) they are very ſoon tired of the Place; becauſe they think they have not Reſpect enough paid them; they cannot play the *Mogul* in a Land of Liberty and Property, where every *Gentleman* is reſpected as *ſuch*, only from his own Merit and Behaviour; they cannot *lord* it as they do over their own Plantations, as well over their *white Servants* as their *Negro-ſlaves*, without Controul: Shew me the *Man*, and I'll ſhew you the *Law*, notwithſtanding ſome of their principal Men have been *indented Servants* themſelves, which verifies the old Proverb, *Set a Beggar on Horſeback, and he'll ride to the Devil.*

I HAD drawn thoſe *Characteriſticks* of the People of *Jamaica* from the Life, ſome Years before I had the Experience of

of having the Obſervations exemplified on *myſelf* in the following Particulars.

I HAD an Embroil with one Mr. *Beawes*, in the Service of the honourable *South-Sea* Company, the original Cauſe whereof the People of *Jamaica* were intirely Strangers to; but, as a great many of them were very deeply concerned with him in a Voyage to *la vera Cruz*, they were all ready and willing to aſſiſt him to proceed on that Voyage, which, for Reaſons formerly hinted, I would have ſtopt by a *Ne exeat inſulam*, had it not been for the Regard I had for the Intereſt of the *South-Sea* Company's Service, and Reſpect for my honourable Maſters. I remember, in examining one of his Witneſſes, who declared, "That, when ſuch and "ſuch Circumſtances happened, I was "ſmoaking a Pipe of Tobacco." At the ſame Time I ſolemnly declared, (*Teſte* DEO, and all my Acquaintance) "That I never did ſmoak a Pipe or *Se-*"*gar* of *Tobacco* in the whole Courſe of "my Life." Upon which, to invalidate

my Evidence, they got three Witneſſes of *Reputation (Jamaica Currency)* to declare, "That they had ſeen me ſmoak a hun-"dred times;" and one of them offered to ſwear, "That he had ſeen me ſmoak "*five Segars* in a Quarter of an Hour."

AND, though it made nothing at all to the Purpoſe, yet it evidently ſhewed, what I was to expect from the People of *Jamaica*; *Life* and *Fortune* here hung entirely upon a precarious Lay!

THE next Attack was more extraordinary (if poſſible) in one of my trading Voyages on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt. I ſtruck a Bargain with the principal People of *Porto-bello* for 20,000 Pieces of Eight in Goods; I wanted ſome of the Commodities to make up the Aſſortment agreed on, ſo looked out for them amongſt the reſt of the trading Veſſels; when it happened, that one *Moſes Mendes*, a *Jew*, engaged to anſwer for ſuch and ſuch Goods, the beſt of their Kind in Quantity and Quality, at the Prices agreed on, to make

make up my Assortment. I went on board of *Mendes*'s Sloop myself to negociate the Contract, and the Contractors appointed one *Compton* as Broker on their Behalf: We lay off of the Mouth of the Harbour of *Porto-bello* to deliver the Goods, and receive the Return, one half in *Cash*, the other in *Cacao*. On delivering the Goods, *Mendes* sent on Shore *Dutch* Bays instead of *English* Bays; *Compton*, their Broker, immediately challenged the Imposition, and upon Enquiry I found it to be Truth, and a down-right wilful Cheat of *Mendes*'s. So the Bargain was broke off, and the Contractors laid the whole Blame on me, and indeed they had Reason, for they knew nothing of *Mendes*.

MENDES had received, when the Bargain was broke off, 1625 Pieces of Eight more than there were Goods delivered for: So I was obliged on *Punto*, and indeed in common Justice in merchandizing, to make good this Sum to the Contractors, which I did out of my own Cash; and

then ſued *Mendes* at the ſupreme Court of Judicature in *Jamaica*, where the Lawyers pleaded, " That we muſt prove " the Identity of the Goods delivered."

THERE was one Mr. *Lowther*, who made Affidavit, " That he received the " Goods on Shore, and that the Bays " were *Dutch* Bays." But, to invalidate my Evidence, they got two Witneſſes to ſwear, " That my Head was in a Water- " Jar all the time that I was on board " the Sloop, which was about thirty-ſix " Hours:" Whereas there was no Wa- " ter-Jar on board. But they likewiſe ſwore, " That they were obliged to break " the Water-Jar before they could get my " Head out of it."

IN ſhort, this was all I got for my 1625 Pieces of Eight, beſides Reproach from the *Spaniards*, in endeavouring to deceive them, by not fulfilling my Bargain according to Agreement, to the Diſgrace of Traders in general, and the *Engliſh* in particular, whoſe Word in com-

mon

mon Dealings the *Spaniards* will take above all other Nations: For we know by Experience they chuſe to deal with the *Britiſh*, and will truſt to their Samples without opening a Bale, which they will not do with any other Nation. I wiſh we may not forfeit this our good Character, by means of theſe raſcally Fellows of *Jews*, who trade from *Jamaica* under the Denomination of *Engliſhmen*: And ſome *nominal Chriſtians* from *Jamaica* are full as bad as the *Jews*; and indeed it is ſome Encouragement for them to go on in ſuch villainous Ways, when they can eſcape Puniſhment in a Court of Juſtice, on very groſs Impoſitions on the World in general, and the trading Part in particular. Nay, they even gloried in their Shame, by dividing the Spoil, in the very Face of the World between *Aaron Dias Fernandes* and Com-pany, *Daniel Mendes de Coſta* and Company, and the aforeſaid *Moſes Mendes*: And, though theſe Fellowsd eal very conſiderably on the Coaſt, I have ſeen them ſo very low and baſe-ſpirited, as to *ſteal* a Dol-

lar or two from the *Spaniards* in counting their Money, and change one Bale for another; which I have detected, and confronted them in Presence of the *Spaniards*; but they stick at nothing, if they think they can escape Punishment.

I HAVE had innumerable Pieces of grand Larceny committed against me in *Jamaica*, when I was a Trader there, my great Misfortune having been that I lived amongst the *Spaniards*, with whom you may see sixty Millions of Pieces of Eight negociated to and fro, without the Scrape of a Pen, all upon *Punto*. In *Jamaica* it is quite otherwise, for there it is reckoned no Disgrace, or Loss of Credit, to fail in, or fall from your Word, Bill, or Bond.

THERE was one *Curtin*, my Partner *Fennell*'s Factor, (called a Merchant in *Jamaica*) who, in my Absence, took up ten Pipes of *Madeira* Wine, consigned to *Houstoun* and *Fennell*; for he stopped my Letters of Advice, so that it was some time

time before I heard of the Wines. When I aſked him about them, he denied he knew any Thing of them till I got the Bills of Loading from my Correſpondents in *London*; and then I immediately ſued him at Law: But, to the Honour of the Court and Jury be it ſaid, he *non-ſuited* me, though I proved that I had paid for the Wines, and had Credit in my Account current for them from my Correſpondents. This ſtands upon Record as a farther Proof of the Cuſtoms of *Jamaica*: The Jury-men were almoſt all *Iriſhmen*, as were my Partner *Fennell*, and this *Curtin*. So I had no great Chance there, and never got a Shilling of this Money, whilſt they divided the Spoil. This was called, *The Cuſtom of Merchants in* Jamaica; and they called *John Merewether* Eſq; a great Merchant, to prove it, who declared in open Court, "That it was the "Cuſtom of Merchants in *Jamaica*;" which, I am ſure, would have been found grand Larceny in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

THERE was one *Yeaman*, a very great

Merchant amongſt them, and who had ſome dry Goods of mine in his Cuſtody, in my Abſence. He ſent them out upon the Coaſt on his own Account and Riſk, with a very advantageous Proſpect, but the Veſſel happened to be loſt; ſo he charged the aforeſaid Goods to my Account. Lucky for me! we referred it to *Arbitration* of honeſt Men,

Rara avis in terris!

and they obliged him to produce his Books, where the Fraud appeared plain; but, had he gone to common Law, he would have gained his *Point*, as he was not obliged to produce his Books, there being Plenty of Witneſſes to ſwear to any Thing.

I BOUGHT thirty Pipes of *Canary* Wine, Prize-goods, which I ordered a Cooper in *Kingſton*, one *Lewis*, to fine down, and turn into Ten-gallon Cags for the *Spaniſh* Coaſt-trade; and accordingly it was put under his Care in his Store-houſe for ſome Months. When I received

received the Wines from him two Thirds of the whole Quantity was gone, (as he ſaid by Leakage) and he charged me over and above 150 odd Pounds for Cooperage and Store-houſe-room, and ſwore to his Account; ſo I was obliged to pay the Whole, and never could get any Redreſs, for the groſs Impoſition, at the Court of Judicature.

I COULD give a great many other Inſtances of ſuch petty-fogging, little, dirty *Tricks*, greatly beneath and unworthy of the very Name of a *Merchant:* I muſt own I never had the good Fortune to meet with any one in *Jamaica* worthy of the Name of a *real Merchant*, which, in my Opinion, is the moſt honourable Title of any in the whole World.

IT was an antient Law amongſt the *Saxons*, who ſettled in *England* as politically as advantageouſly for the Encouragement of *Arts*, and eſpecially of *Trade* and *Commerce*, "That if a *Merchant* had "croſſed the *wide Sea* three Times, he "ſhould

"should be honoured with the Title of "*Thane*, (*Baron*) and admitted to all the "Privileges of that Order." And ever "since, by Custom, *Merchants* of a distinguished Character in *Commerce* have been honoured with the Title of *Knights*; for, when he becomes a Peer of the Land, he leaves off Trade; yet King *James* II. when Duke of *York*, was the greatest Merchant in *England*, and was proud of the Title; the Duke of *Chandos* enlisted himself a Merchant, and his Majesty of *Great Britain* honours the trading Companies by being their Governor. I have had the Honour, which I do reckon a very great one to me, to be called a *Merchant* in Bills in Chancery, and other Affairs in Law. I know nothing that entitled me to that Honour, more than having passed the *wide Seas* oftner than three times, and much wider Seas than the *Saxons* ever knew of in those Days; and I dare venture to say, that I have seen more Business in Commerce negociated in *thirty Days*, at the Fair at *Porto-bello*, than

all

all the *Pedlars* in *Jamaica* tranſact in *thirty Years*, with much more Exactneſs, and much leſs Buſtle about it. And indeed I do reckon it an Advantage to *Britain*, that in other Countries they have not the Regard and Reſpect due to *Merchants*; they are ſcarcely reckoned in the Station of *Gentlemen*; every Thing in common is called Merchant, in *France* the Fellow who fetches the Water for your Houſe is called *Marchand de L'eau*.

WHAT they call *Merchants* in *Jamaica*, I take to be a Burleſque, a ſynonimous Term for Pedlars: Proteſted Bills and Orders; Bills and Orders accepted, and refuſed Payment; ſhuffling off from Day to Day, from Month to Month, even to Years; evading the Execution of the Law by ſham Bills of Exceptions, Intereſt, Trick, Chicane, *&c.* are common amongſt them; even amongſt their tip-top of what they call their *Merchants*; the twentieth Part of which Management would ſink the Credit immediately, and irretrievably ruin the very

beſt

beſt Merchant on the *Exchange* of *London*: Yet they have gone on in this Manner for a Courſe of Years, without either Shame, or loſs of Credit, till the *greater* have eat up, and deſtroyed the *leſſer*; he that gets the moſt Money is the beſt Man. It ſignifies not a Farthing how he has acquired it; his Riches inſures him a Protection; and as they encreaſe in *Riches*, ſo they do in *Oppreſſion*, and, in Proportion to their Riches, are ſupported in that *Oppreſſion* by Authority; which I have ſeverely felt to my fatal Experience from one of their Grandees.

I HAD Dealings for a great many Years with one *Manning*, who was a young Man that wrote in Mr. *Pratter*'s Compting-houſe, (Agent for the Honourable *South-ſea* Company) his Relation, and he was the only Correſpondent that I had in *Jamaica*, during the whole Time I was in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, in the Service of the Honourable *South-ſea* Company: So there was an Account current betwixt us, for a conſiderable Value, fourteen Years

ſtanding

ſtanding and upwards. I had preſſed him from time to time, I may ſay, a thouſand times, to ſettle Accounts, which he always ſhuffled off, and chicaned juſt like the reſt of them; but I was fool enough, at that Time to take him for an honeſt Man, and my Friend, till he became a *great Man*, and then he diſcovered himſelf openly, and abſolutely refuſed to come to any Account at all, poſitively telling me, he would refer it to no-body, and put me to Defiance.

So the grand Stroke againſt me, the *Coup de Grace*, was reſerved for this Gentleman to put in Execution: An Attempt to aſſaſſinate Life, Character, and Fortune at once; for no other Crime, that I know of, than having the Impudence to preſume to call to account, and ſue a Gentleman of ſuch Importance in *Jamaica*, for what he was juſtly and fairly indebted; for by this time he was become a very great Man indeed.

Mr. *Pratter* died very rich, and this

Manning

Manning was his ſole *Jamaica-executor*, and Adminiſtrator, *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for *Kingſton*, an *Aſſembly-man*, a *Judge* of the Supreme Court of Judicature, *&c. &c.* when I attacked him, and got a Verdict for 1600 *l.* Value in Goods, the Delivery and Receipt proved, and never accounted for.

Now he was hooked, and, to contrive how to get his Head out of the Collar was his Buſineſs. Accordingly, before Judgment paſſed on this Verdict for the Plaintiff, Mr. Attorney General, *Penny*, of Counſel for the Defendant, the great *Manning*, moved for a Bill of Exceptions to be entered; either thro' Ignorance or worſe, to impoſe on the Court.

THE Honourable Bench aſk'd Mr. *Attorney*, "What he excepted againſt in his "Bill of Exceptions? And why he did not "draw it up, a plain Action to account, "one Merchant with another, for Goods "received, and not accounted for?"

MR.

MR. *Attorney* anſwered, "That he ex-"cepted againſt the whole, all, every Thing," without naming any thing in particular; and accordingly ſigned in Court, without drawing up any Bill, and without my Counſel's conſenting, or ſigning: Thus he excepted againſt every thing! *

Ridiculous Nonſenſe!
A Burleſque on all Law!

More properly a *Bull of Indulgence*, for the Honourable *Edward Manning*, Eſq; However, the Bait took, and the *Chief Juſtice* was hooked, for he ſigned alſo to the *Bill of Exceptions*, tho' not in Court; I verily believe more thro' Ignorance, than any thing worſe, for he himſelf told me afterwards, that he was ſenſible he had done a wrong Thing, and was ſorry for it: But, *Tinker-like*, in mending one Hole, he made two; as will appear by the Conſequences: For it appeared to me, that neither the Honourable Bench, nor Bar, ſeemed to know what a *Bill of Exceptions* was, nor how to draw up one; at leaſt they

* See APPENDIX, Numb. V.

they did not do it; but only mentioned it by the *Attorney General*, to ſerve as a Clog to farther Proceedings. Whatever were their Reaſons I ſhall not particularly ſay, though the Effects proved fatal to me, and I clearly perceived how the *Game* was a going, to clear *Manning* of his Debt was the main Deſign.

IF a Merchant in *London*, or any where elſe in *Europe*, was to propoſe a *Bill of Exceptions* to be made to a plain *Action of Account*, one Merchant with another, his Credit would be intirely ruined, he durſt not ſhew his Face on the *Exchange*, and it would be diſgracefully look'd upon by all Merchants as a notorious *Fraud*.

IN the mean time I muſt acknowledge, that my *Antagoniſt* gave me fair Warning before-hand: "Go on, ſaid he, with your "Law-ſuits: I'll ſhew you, that I will "make an Example of you! I don't "care what Money I ſpend, ſo that I can "expoſe you at any Rate, or Expence! "I'll refer it to no-body." This Encounter

counter happened at the *Attorney General*'s Houſe; and I appeal to the *Attorney General*'s Honour, if he has the leaſt Spark of it in his whole Body, if theſe Words, or to this Purpoſe, were not ſaid in his Preſence, which will appear by the Sequel to be Malice propenſe, and inveterate Revenge.

I OWN my old Blood was up at him; (I wiſh from my Soul that I had taken the ſhorteſt Way of the *Diſſenters* with him) but *Baldwyn*'s Caſe, before-mentioned, ſtruck into my Mind, and ſtared me in the Face: Death itſelf would have been more welcome, than the villainous Treatment I met with; but I then thought it was impoſſible to expoſe me in a Country of Liberty and Property, where *Juſtice* at leaſt ought to be equally adminiſtred to all free-born Subjects, the poor as well as the rich, in his *Britannick* Majeſty's Dominions, under a *Britiſh* Conſtitution and Government.

BUT, alas! though I was no Stranger

to *Jamaica*, and the Cuſtoms thereof, I had forgot my old Aſſertion, MONEY *abſolute Lord of Jamaica!* but, conſcious of my own Innocence, being guiltleſs in all reſpects towards him, fair in all my Proceedings, and juſt in my Accounts with him, I went boldly on to aſk for Juſtice, when I very ſoon felt the Effects of his Power and Authority, and his Menaces verified and executed by his faſt Friend at Command; the Force of what ought to have damned him.

WITH the Aſſiſtance of his Privy-counſellor, and his Attorney's Clerk, they trumped up a Bill of Indictment for *Perjury* againſt me; the Crime in the whole Catalogue of Sins that I have had the greateſt Averſion and Abhorrence to; for, of all Crimes I reckon it the moſt low-life, ſcoundrel Villany, even to tell a *Lye*, and to take *God Almighty* to witneſs it muſt be infinitely worſe; yet this was the Method our *Cuſtos* and his Counſellor took to accompliſh their Deſigns of bringing this

this Accusation of *Perjury*, to sink this Debt into my intire Ruin.

A MONSTROUS Piece of Villany! the most shocking, cruel Misfortune that ever happened to me, and impossible to be foreseen; and I am sure the least expected and deserved! for I don't at all doubt for one hundred more, enforced by the Strength of Mr. *Attorney General*'s Rhetorick, they would have found the same Bill for *Sodomy*, and brought it within what Statute they pleased.

ALL *Ballad-makers*, have some Device at top, as the Image of a *Man*, or a *Beast*, or whatever else they please; so my Indictment had its Device at top likewise;

HOUSTOUN *adv.* MANNING, } *Declaration.*

THE *Jurors* find the *Defendant* accountable to the *Plaintiff* 1600*l.* Value in Goods, with Costs.

Judgment, quod computat;
and referred to

Pat. Adam,
Sam. Johnſton,
Walrond Fearon.

THESE 1600*l.* were my original Crime, and this Commiſſion from the Supreme Court of Judicature was the *Rock* on which I was to be wrecked: However, I attended this Commiſſion, having drawn up the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners, and gave them, in Obedience to the honourable Court's Orders, on Affidavit, as follows:

FACTS,

I. The Commiſſioners, in Obedience to their Commiſſion from the honourable Court of ſupreme Judicature, met at the Houſe of *Laurence Brodbelt*, Tavern-keeper, in *Kingſton*, *Dec.* 7, 1745, in order to proceed to Buſineſs.

II. THEY adjourned to the 10th of the aforeſaid Month, at the Requeſt of the Defendant, the honourable *Edward Manning*, Eſq;

III. THEY

III. THEY met on the 10th of the aforesaid Month, according to Appointment, when they refused the Commission.

IV. THE Attorney's Clerk, (one *Graham*) who said he appeared there on account of the Defendant, told the Commissioners, "That the *chief Justice* had no Power or Authority to grant a Commission returnable in so short a Date as that was.

So help me GOD.

JA. HOUSTOUN.*

THIS Commission was only for *Auditors* of Accounts, to audit all Accounts, Papers, Bills of Loading, Receipts, *&c.* and to make a proper Report to the honourable Court.

BUT by this time I was sufficiently apprized how Matters were a going, with their different Machinations, and designed Assassinations; for they had got this Attorney's Clerk, whom they made use of

* See the APPENDIX, Numb. VI. and VII.

as a proper Tool, to ſwear to the *Indictment* and other Affidavits, conſiſting of divers Sheets of Paper, full of flat Contradictions: For he makes Oath, "That he "did not ſay, that the *chief Juſtice* had "no Power or Authority to give a Com-"miſſion returnable in ſo ſhort a Date as "that was:" Yet, at the ſame Time he poſitively ſwears, "That he ſaid, the ſaid "*Commiſſion* was irregular, and he would "petition the grand Court for a new Com-"miſſion." Whether theſe are not ſynonymous Terms, expreſſing the ſame Fact, I leave the whole World to judge? Whereas I kept only to Matters of Fact in my Affidavit, which were agreed to, and granted on all ſides, even by *Graham* and the Commiſſioners themſelves. They inſiſted on the Facts, yet did not hear the very Words; *monſtrous Quibble! Facts* I expreſſed and not *Words*. *Graham*, no doubt, had his Inſtructions, and they were reſolved to ſhuffle this Commiſſion off, and make a Handle of it to my Ruin: For this Attorney's Clerk told the Commiſſioners, "There could be no Buſineſs

"done

" done at their Meeting, becauſe Mr. " *Morſe* was not in Town, and Mr. *Man-* " *ning* was not ready". This *Morſe* was a petty-fogging, tricking Attorney himſelf, now turned Counſellor at Law, and Privy-counſellor to the great Mr. *Manning*; and *Graham* was his Clerk.

THESE, with Mr. *Attorney General*, and the *Cuſtos* behind the Scene, were the *Dramatis Perſonæ* of the *Conſpiracy*, and they were poſitively reſolved to annul this Commiſſion at all Hazards; for whenever they found the *Chief Juſtice* was reſolved to ſupport his own Commiſſion, ſigned in Court with the Conſent and Advice of the then Aſſiſtant Judges, he was contemptuouſly turned out of his Office, with his Commiſſion along with him, and one of his Aſſiſtants had been turned out beforehand; a *ſtubborn Stick!* and moſt of the the reſt of them, if I remember right, laid down their Commiſſions, rather than chuſe to be rode by an *Attorney*, to make room for others more pliable to their Purpoſes. And they iſſued out another

Commiſſion of their own forming, as much a Commiſſion for a Captain of Dragoons, as to audit and report Accounts, becauſe it was the ſame as to leave it to them, whether my Horſe is *yours or mine*.

IT was Mr. Attorney General's Pleaſure; on which depended the Lives and Fortunes of his *Britannick* Majeſty's Subjects in *Jamaica*, juſt as they fell under his periodical Fits or lucid Intervals.

I HOPE his Honour, the *Chief Juſtice*, will do me the Juſtice to acknowledge, that I prognoſticated his Fate! One Day, when I was complaining of my hard Fate, and Injuſtice done me by Mr. *Manning*'s *oppreſſive* Power, he told me with ſome Indignation, "That he would ſee Juſtice "done me againſt the greateſt Man in "*Jamaica*." I anſwered ſubmiſſively, "That, if they thought you would, or "could do me Juſtice, againſt the *great* "*Manning*, you would not be long *Chief* "*Juſtice*." I wiſh he had been as able,

as

as I really believe he was willing to do me Juſtice, at leaſt to ſave me from ſuch *tyrannic Oppreſſion:* But I muſt own he was as fit to be a Cardinal as a Chief Juſtice. It is true, that it was *Hobſon*'s Choice, for his Predeceſſor, the only Perſon in *Jamaica* that I had the Honour of knowing equal to ſuch a great and weighty Office, would ſerve no longer, for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf; (perhaps he knew too much for them, but this Charge is left for himſelf to anſwer) and his Succeſſor knew leſs Law than he, but a better-natured Man, and more pliable to their Purpoſes.

BUT if this *Commiſſion* was legal and returnable in the limited Time, as ſigned by the Chief Juſtice with the unanimous Conſent of the Aſſiſtant Judges in Court, why did they not proceed upon it? No: They muſt have a new Commiſſion of their own forming, modelled, no doubt, to the Pleaſure of the *great Man*, Defendant: So theſe Commiſſioners made their Return accordingly, as I was informed; for I never ſaw it, nor went near

near them again, for fear of a new Indictment for *Sodomy*, or any other Crime they pleaſed to deviſe; but I was told their Return was,

Nothing due by the Defendant to the Plaintiff;

expreſly contrary to the Verdict of the *Jury*, as aforeſaid. They ſhould now have called again for old *Merewether*, (*Manning*'s Partner) to prove, *That this was likewiſe the Cuſtom of Merchants in* Jamaica: But alas! he was dead; yet, it ſeems, he has left ſome of his Cuſtoms in Legacy to his Partner.

WAS ever ſuch a bare-faced Impoſition heard of in a free trading Country? Goods delivered and received, but no Account given thereof, nor any Thing made due upon that Account: So I am to be *dragooned* out of my Property by *Major Vis*, in a Country where Liberty and Property are ſaid to reſide under his *Britannick* Majeſty, by the Sanction of Law. Can *Judges* give a Commiſſion to any Perſon

ſon or Perſons, to take away, or keep my Property, without giving any Account at all of it? That celebrated Author, the Right Honourable Mr. *Secretary* ADDISON, ſays, "When *Judges* are capable "of being influenced by any Thing but "Law, or a Cauſe may be recommended "by any Thing that is foreign to its own "Merits, we may venture to pronounce, "that ſuch a Nation is haſtening to its "own Ruin."

ALL that I have got for my Money at preſent is an Entry in my Journal.

To *Profit and Loſs.*

Robbed by the diſhonourable *E. M.* Eſq; and his Acceſſories, *P. A. S. J.* and *W. F.* of Goods delivered to the Value of 1600 *l.*

Witneſſes to the Robbery twelve Jurymen, good and true, upon an Appeal to his *Britannick* Majeſty in Council, *Jamaica*, 1746.

So I was robbed by the *Cuſtos*, and came upon the County, who made up a Purſe,

Purſe, as they called it, for me; which I thankfully accepted, and make this publick and grateful Acknowledgment for the Favour to the Community in general, and particularly to the Collectors *George Galbraith* and *Thomas Bontein*, Eſquires, Aids de Camp to the honourable Brigadier General *Price*, Prime Miniſter of State, firſt of the *Wittena-Gemot*, Brother *Cuſtos*, and *Judge*, with the great *Manning*, and indeed was a *greater Man*, if poſſible, than this great *Manning* himſelf, but ſtood more in need of a *Ready-penny*, who ſupplied them both with Furniture for their upper Chambers, at an advanced *Price*. From this Quarter, I imagine, the Favour came, otherwiſe, I do ſuppoſe, none elſe durſt preſume to ſhew me the leaſt Favour or Countenance, under the Penalty of their Diſpleaſure. But how trifling ſoever it may ſeem to be, it was of ten times more Service to me than the Value, at a Time when, out of 2200 *l.* juſtly and fairly owing to me in that Iſland upon Record, I could not raiſe 22 Pence to ſave my Soul and Body from periſhing for Want; nay,

even

even the Chancellor's final Decree and Order in my Favour was evaded, baffled, and refuſed: In ſhort, all Writs in my Favour were of no Effect, and thoſe againſt me took Place, and were enforced: Our *Cuſtos* and his Counſellor puſhed their Reſentment to ſuch a Height, and drove Affairs to that Extremity, to perſecute me at any Rate, that I was daily expecting to have my Life ſworn away by falſe Witneſſes: And though I don't ſuſpect the *Cuſtos* to be capable of ſuch groſs Villany, yet I am well aſſured his Counſellor is capable of being guilty of any Roguery, even of the blackeſt Dye, that his Invention can contrive or reach: And Paſſions, ſeduced by evil Counſel, may blindly give way to Reſentment againſt thoſe who have it in their Power to deſtroy themſelves: For he well knew that it was in my Power to h——g him for a T——r to his King and Country, if I would turn *Informer*, which I would not do for his Eſtate, nor the whole Iſland of *Jamaica*.*

FOR

* See APPENDIX, Numb. II.

FOR no Treatment, how bad ſoever it may be, ſhall ever provoke me to do, what in my own Way of thinking is not ſtrictly conſiſtent with what I call *Honour* and *Honeſty*: I dare not do it for my own Sake, without any Regard to others: I own that I have done ſeveral Things in the Courſe of my Life inconſiſtent with my own Way of thinking, but it was *Neceſſity*, not I; which I hope ſhall be rectified in the remaining Part of my Time.

BUT even all this did not ſatisfy them, they were reſolved to aſſaſſinate Life, Character, and Fortune at once; and go on with the Proſecution for *Perjury* againſt me; and I was reſolved to ſtand it at all Hazards, being conſcious of my own Innocence, that I might find an Opportunity of exculpating myſelf, which, I flatter myſelf, will appear to the whole World to be a falſe and malicious Proſecution; and, after the Cuſtom of the *Holy* (I mean *villainous*) *Tribunal of Inquiſition*, I was abſolutely denied a Copy of my Indict-

ment,

ment, or a Sight of the Depoſitions againſt me; ſo I could not tell, or ſo much as gueſs, what I might be indicted for; it might have been for *Sodomy*, as well as *Perjury*, for I am ſure I was as much guilty of the one as of the other. The Attorney's Clerk, who ſwore thro' thick and thin for all, offered for 50 *l.* not to proſecute at all. I told him, with great Scorn and Indignation, that I would not give him fifty Pence; and that he muſt be a very great Villain to make the Offer: I depended intirely, and I thought ſafely, on my own Innocence, and a *Britiſh* Conſtitution; but I had forgot where I was.

WHEN the *Chief Juſtice* was giving the Charge to the Jury he ſaid, "Tho' "he was of Opinion, that the Facts re- "lated, and agreed on by all Parties, were "ſynonymous Terms, in different Words, "and could not amount to the *Charge*;" yet three of the Judges declared their Opinion, *Guilty*; which over-awed the *Jury*, and over-ruled an *Arreſt of Judgment*.

THUS

THUS I fell a *Sacrifice!* "Now, ſay "*They*, the Judges are all very honeſt "Men, tho' they were not bred up to "the Law:" Ay, to be ſure, they are all honeſt Men; ſo is Judge *Manning* too!

Es Hombre de Bien pero no pareſce mi Capa.

WHAT Satisfaction is it to me, whether I ſuffer thro' *Roguery* or *Ignorance*, if I do ſuffer unjuſtly and wrongfully? And it is certain, that I have ſuffered for a Crime, which, as muſt evidently appear to the whole World, I was not guilty of; and I have felt, to my fatal Experience, that I have been ſacrificed as a *Burnt-offering* to 'Squire *Manning* and his Counſellor's Threats and Reſentment: For an *Affidavit* to a Matter of Fact, which ſtands upon Record to be ſo, muſt be ſo, and cannot poſſibly be otherwiſe, as clear as any Demonſtration in *Euclid*.

IF I was reduced to an abſolute Neceſſity, under an abſolute Government,

to

to ſubmit, I ſhould rather chuſe to ſubject myſelf to a *Rogue* of Senſe, than a *Fool* at any rate:—But both is the *Devil!*

NOW, methinks, I hear an old *Druid*, ſitting at a Corner, ſay, *They* ſay—and *They* do ſo and ſo;——Who are They?——
——— *Mine A-r-e in a B-nd B-x.* What! more Wheels within Wheels? But let the *Druid* go on to teach and preach in his own Way, without controul.

Qui docet Indoctos, licet Indoctiſſimus eſſet,
Ipſe brevi reliquis doctior eſſe queat.

I HAVE known the Foreman of a *Jamaica* Jury, and a *Grandee* too, ſubſcribe his Name to a Bill of Indictment before the Grand Jury * * * * * * * *cum Sotius*, engliſhed, *Come Scts.*

I HAD no Objection, it was rather my Deſire, to find the Bill, in the Grand Jury againſt me, *Billa vera*, that I might find an Opportunity of exculpating myſelf from any Guilt of the Accuſation, which muſt then have retorted on the *Accuſers.*

BUT my Foreman of the petty Jury was a Man of more Learning, and could read, and ſpell his Name, *Cum Sociis*; tho' he was only a poor *Iriſh* Hackney-coach-man, who let out Hackney-coaches and Horſes by the Day, or a longer Time, as agreed on, and always ſecured his *Hire* before-hand, and the higheſt Bidder was ſure to ride the *Horſe*; ſo I had no Chance for the Horſe, I muſt be *jockey'd*.

MR. *Attorney General* inſiſted only on that Point in my *Affidavit*, "That *Gra-* "*ham*, the Attorney's Clerk, told the *Com-* "*miſſioners*, That the *chief Juſtice* had no "Power or Authority, to give a Com- "miſſion returnable in ſo ſhort a Date as "that was."

WHEN the ſaid *Graham* ſwore again it was only to a Negative, *That he ſaid no ſuch thing*. At the ſame time he confeſſes, "That he ſaid, *The Commiſſion was* "*irregular; and he would petition the* "*grand Court for a new one.*"

THE

THE Commiſſioners likewiſe ſaid, *They did not hear theſe Words:* But all agreed to the Facts; the Commiſſion was irregular, in the Return at ſo ſhort a Date, and they muſt have a new one. My *Affidavit* is only to Facts, which are unalterable.

HORRIBLE Quibbles, and Contradictions, for a Man's Life, Character and Fortune to depend on!

WHEN my Counſel was pleading, "That my *Affidavit* was only relative to "Facts, and not to Words." (For who can expreſs Facts in the very ſame identical Words? Tho' the Facts were agreed on by all Parties and Sides to be the ſame in *ſynonymous Terms:)* Mr. *Foreman* with his *Sots*, (as I was informed, for I was not allowed to be preſent) ſaid, "That none "of them underſtood what *ſynonymous* "was, or meant;" but they had found the Bill, and the Bench over-ruled an Arreſt of Judgment; ſo that I was denied an Opportunity of clearing myſelf: And the Evidence, on which the Bill was founded,

can be demonſtrated and proved falſe and malicious, as clear as any Demonſtration in *Euclid*; and the Accuſation groundleſs and falſe.

THUS was I cowardly ſtabbed, barbarouſly murdered, and cruelly butchered; and at preſent am, with the Bleeding of my freſh Wounds, at the Point of Death; though in ſome ſmall Hopes of a *Reſurrection*. The Ancients died, roſe again in this Life, and fought Battles! Why may I not riſe again?

Some, raiſed aloft, come tumbling down amain;
And fall ſo hard, they bound and riſe again!

DURING the whole Time of my Interdictment, Indictment and Confinement, about ſix Months Time, they had a large Field and full Scope to ruin me intirely, to ſink my Credit irretrievably, to embezzle my Effects, (and other People's Goods in my Hands to a very conſiderable Value) and even to deny me Subſiſtence-Money

Money from my own Cash in their Hands; and they not only attempted to assassinate Life, Character, and Fortune Abroad, but to murder my Character and Credit at Home; after the Custom of the *French* Robbers, *murder first, and rob afterwards!* to accomplish the grand Design of clearing Mr. *Manning*'s Debt, which they did effectually, and sunk as much more into it!

BUT if I should chance to survive it in Life, I do flatter myself that I shall be able to vindicate my Character to the World with Honour and Integrity, nor do I desire Life upon any other Conditions, and make it ignominiously retort upon themselves with double Force, which shall be enjoined and enforced in my Last Will and Testament, to prosecute to the very last the *Murderers*.

AND, during the remaining Time I was obliged to linger in *Jamaica*, I took upon me the Vows of an *Hermit*, and strictly kept up to the Rules of the Order; for

indeed it was no Puniſhment to me, to be baniſhed from Company in *Jamaica*, becauſe converſing with the Inhabitants always gave me more Pain than Pleaſure, and indeed the whole Iſland was a *Goal* to me; for here I can truly ſay,

Nunquam minus ſolus, quam cum ſolus.

And, after the firſt ſevere Pangs and Shocks of the Surprize on my Commitment were over, being intirely conſcious of my own Innocence, I carried a ſound Breaſt, a ſerene and calm Mind, with the greateſt Patience and Reſignation during the whole Time of my unjuſt Sufferings, which under my Confinement were at firſt very barbarous, rather worſe than thoſe in the *Inquiſition*, except Tortures; (for, had I not been reſcued by ſome of the Priſoners, they had murdered me directly, which can be ſufficiently teſtified by thoſe very People who reſcued me) which broke the beſt Conſtitution that perhaps was ever carried about in ſo many different Countries in the *Torrid Zone*, for almoſt thirty Years, without the leaſt Ailment.

THE

THE greateſt Diſcontent or Anxiety, that I ſuffered in my own Mind, was being ſhunned and deſerted by my former *Friends*, who acknowledged their being convinced of my Innocence of the Crime I was accuſed of; yet, thro' Fear and Dread of the *Great*, who generally hang together in a String like *wild Geeſe*, and to attack one is to attack all: For thus was I left deſtitute of Friends to ſtruggle with my Misfortunes, to extricate myſelf in the beſt manner I was able; for it was reckoned High Treaſon to entertain me in their Houſes, or ſhew me any Countenance or Friendſhip; and my Enemies embraced this Opportunity to appear with Malice and unjuſt Reproaches, to ingratiate themſelves with my Antagoniſt, and follow the *Run*.

I WAS to be chaſtized and humbled at any rate; *Down with him* was the Word; *We'll humble him:* And my Friends wanted Reſolution enough to ſtop the Current, which might have been eaſily done at firſt.

THIS is what they call *hunting* a Man down in *London*, and Men of much more Honour and Integrity than I pretend to, even the very beſt of Men, have been *hunted down* to ſerve vile, mercenary Deſigns; but in the whole World, among the moſt deſpotic, barbarous Countries, there's not to be found an Inſtance of ſuch unjuſt, cruel, arbitrary Proceedings, (the *Inquiſition* excepted) executed by the pretended Sanction of the *Laws* of a *free* Country.

THE *Scots* abroad are very remarkable, for ſtanding by their Country-men; tho' I muſt own, I never was a very great Favourite amongſt them at *Jamaica*; I always was of a different Kidney from them, and uſed to tell them roundly of their Miſtakes, which made them more eaſily give way to the Current againſt me; for moſt of all the *Scots* that I knew in *Jamaica* were *Jacobites*, which made the People of *Jamaica* run away with a miſtaken Notion, that all the *Scots* are inclinable that Way, whereas nothing can be

be more falſe; for the knowing and trading Part of *Scotland*, where I was born and bred up at School, have very juſt and true Notions of the Good and Intereſt of their Country, and ſo fixt in their Principles, that I dare venture to ſay, for thirty Miles round, there could not be thirty *Jacobites* found. It is only the *Scum* of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of deſperate Fortunes, of no Eſtates at all, and the Dregs of the Commonality, as idle as ignorant, who engage in that Cauſe; with the *Highland Clans*, who carry along with them a Parcel of ignorant, uncivilized People, their Vaſſals, who know no other *Reaſon* than blind *paſſive Obedience*, and *Non-reſiſtance* to the Will of their Superiors and Maſters; whom I uſed to compare to a *Jamaica* Planter, driving his *Negro-ſlaves* along with him; as evidently appeared by thoſe engaged in that very *unnatural Rebellion* in the Year 1745, of all thoſe engaged ſcarce one of them worth hanging, except the *Highland Chiefs*, who ought to be extirpated from all Society.

DURING my moſt *oppreſſive* Diſtreſſes I met one whom I can call a *faſt Friend*, and, had his Abilities been equal to his Inclinations, I had been enabled to ſurmount all my Diſtreſſes, and overcome my Enemies. And, what was very remarkable, I brought that very Perſon into the World, by delivering his Mother of him, when in hard Labour; ſo that, by ſaving his Life, I ſaved my own: *Remarkable Providence!*

AND in this Solitude I found a very agreeable Companion, though of an *African* Breed, a *Creol* of *Jamaica*, of *Negro* Parents, educated in *England*; for he had a ſuperior Genius, a more liberal Education, and a better Underſtanding to improve it; which entitled him to keep better Company, Men of Letters in *England*, than any of the *Creols* that ever I had the Honour of knowing in *Jamaica*, which evidently demonſtrates, that it is not Colour, but *Genius* and *Education* that makes the *Man*.

No-

NOTHING perhaps is more beautiful in the moral World, than that *Compaſſion* which univerſally prevails in every honeſt Heart, when they ſee the Innocent and Helpleſs ſtruggling under unmerited Misfortunes, and borne down, by the Current of Power, under a Load of *Oppreſſion*, and to feel that Indignation riſe which never fails to inſpire the *Virtuous* with Courage and Reſolution to oppoſe *Oppreſſion*, and bring the Authors of it to Reaſon and Juſtice by condign Puniſhment; and, *vice verſâ*, when it appears contrary, nothing can be more ugly and diabolical.

I REMEMBER, when I lived at *Cartagena* in the *Weſt-Indies*, I was credibly informed; that one of the beſt and honeſteſt Men, and moſt ſubſtantial Merchants there, had the Misfortune to be taken up by the *Inquiſition*; all his Friends ſhunned and deſerted him in this Diſtreſs, (for they durſt not do otherwiſe) and, after twenty Years Impriſonment, with all his Effects embezzled, he was cleared and declared innocent, and, by Order of the *holy Inquiſitors*, in token of his Innocence,

cence, he was allowed the Honour of riding all over the Town on a *white Horſe*, as a ſufficient Satisfaction for all his Sufferings in Perſon and Eſtate.

I EXPECTED and accordingly found a *white Horſe* waiting for me at the Court-houſe Door, on the appointed Day, but they made me pay 10 *l.* Horſe-hire, and then bid me ride when, and where I pleaſed; which ſhall be as ſoon as I am able to ride at all, to His *Britannick* Majeſty in Council, for Redreſs of Grievances, as a free-born Subject of *Great Britain*, to plead for the Liberties and Properties of a *Britiſh* Subject; for, by the Laws of Nature and Nations, and the Laws of my Country under a *Britiſh* Conſtitution, I am fully entitled to appeal on this *Aſſaſſination Plot* to the *King*, for an Attempt on the Life of a Subject; to the *legiſlative Power*, for Violation and Breach of the National Laws and Conſtitution; and to the *Commons*, for a Violation and Loſs of the Liberty and Property of a Fellow Subject of *Great Britain:* For it is the joint

joint Concern of the whole united Legiſlative Power of *Great Britain.*

IN ſhort, I would much rather have choſen a Throw at Dice for Life and Fortune, than have ſubmitted to the Courts of Judicature in *Jamaica* for it; and, if againſt one of their *great Men*, there's no more Chance than a *Mouſe* has with a *Cat*.

" WHEN ſuch ſacred Things as the " *Laws* are not only touched, but guided " by profane or ignorant Hands, Men " will fear, that out of the *Tree* of the " Law, from whence we expect Shade " and Shelter, ſuch Workmen will make " *Cudgels* to beat us, or rather, that they " will turn the *Cannon* upon our Pro- " perties, that are entruſted with them " for their Defence."

Lord HALLIFAX.

THOUGH my Body was confined, it was impoſſible for them to confine the Mind, and this Confinement gave me full Time and Opportunity of finiſhing my Memoirs of *Jamaica*, which otherwiſe might

might have lain dormant for ever through my Indolence: So I shall now give a few more strong Examples amongst Hundreds that I could call to mind: One very strong of the *Grand Seignior* himself of the Country of *Jamaica*, who governed and swayed the whole Country round him with a tyrannick Power, at the same time he was a good-natur'd Man enough, and very hospitable to all those who would submit implicitely and cringe submissively to his Will and Pleasure: But, *Creol-like*, he would bear no Controul or Contradiction; for he would put his Fellow Creatures upon the Footing of his *Slaves*, and always chastised them, when provoked, with a cruel Hand; nay, to such a Degree did he once carry it, that one of his indented Servants, a *British* Subject and a *white* Man, happened to die under the Severity of his Chastisement.

ON this, about five or six more of his indented Servants, being greatly moved and irritated at such barbarous Usage, left the Plantation, and run to Town to lodge a Complaint with the King's *Attorney-General*;

General; the Evidence was ſtrong, and concurred in all the material Circumſtances, ſo as to amount to an *Indictment for Murder*; and the Attorney-General indicted him accordingly, and it was believed impartially: But the *abſolute Lord* of *Jamaica* (I don't mean the *King*, nor the *Governor*) interpoſed, and, by the never-failing *Argumentum ad Hominem*, managed by a clever Fellow for Foreman, (whom they took out of Goal for that very Purpoſe, who knew all the *Game*, and perfectly well how to make the moſt of it) the *Jurors* had their Eye-ſight rubbed up, and ſaw very clearly, that the Bill greatly ſurpaſſed their Underſtanding, ſo brought it in *Ignoramus*. But the then Attorney-General, depending on his Knowledge of the *Law*, imputed it to the Ignorance, to ſay no worſe, of the *Jurors*, and not to the Want of Strength in the Law; and therefore was of Opinion, that a freſh Indictment ought to be brought.

HOWEVER, for this Opinion, Mr. Attorney-General was ſuſpended from his Office;

Office; and another put in his Room, who was as clear in this, as well as in all other difficult Cases, as the Sun at Noon-day in *Jamaica*, who continued afterwards the *Cicero* of the Island; and I must own, that, in his lucid Intervals, he was a very clever Fellow, and rightly calculated for *that Meridian*; but often put me in mind of the *Wapping-Attorneys* pleading before the *Justices* of the Peace at *Mile end*, who, generally speaking, are *East-India* and other *Sea Captains*, who, having got Money enough to leave off the Sea, only want the Honour on Shore of becoming *Justices of the Peace*. Mr. *Attorney* appears before their *Worships* with his Client's Case; and says, "I tell you, "Sir this is Law, an't please your Worship; "and the *English* Laws are like the Laws "of the *Medes* and *Persians*, unalterable! "And your Worship cannot go from the "Law, without running yourself into a "*Præmunire*; and remember I tell your "Worship so?"——"No, No, Mr. *At-*"*torney*, (says his Worship) I won't run "myself into a *Præmunire*; I'll go by "the

"the Law; it must be so as you say, it "is plain."

SOME Time after there was an *Overseer* of a Plantation, who happened to differ with one of the indented Servants, a *white* Man, and gave him two or three Licks with an Horse-whip, for which the Fellow was resolved to be up with him. Accordingly, not long after the *Overseer* was indicted for killing five *Negroes*, in five different Indictments, by whipping them to Death, and this Fellow was the only Witness to swear to the five separate Indictments.

MR. *Attorney-General* was very clear in this Case: So the Man was found guilty of murdering them all, and condemned to die, and it was expected that the Man would have hung for it, (for he was *poor*) had not he made his Escape before the Day of Execution.

THERE were two of his Majesty's able Sailors indicted for committing a Rape

on an abandoned, profligate, common Whore, Hundreds having lain with her publickly in the Streets, as was proved in open Court; yet Mr. *Attorney-General* was clear in this Case, he saw into the bottom of it at once; so the poor Fellows were condemned to die: But *His Excellency* had Goodness enough to pardon them.

THERE must be something in the Climate, as I have observed in *Africa*, that changes the natural Disposition of Mankind from Humanity into Barbarity, or Custom is a second Nature; for I never saw human Nature divested of Humanity, and Brutality and Barbarity introduced by Custom and Habitude, except in the *Torrid Zone*. I could even instance *Ladies* there (the fair and soft Sex) who have gone very great Lengths in punishing their Slaves; particularly one, who has stood over the *Negroes* to see them punished in a most cruel Manner, even to the last Extremity of seeing them burnt alive to Death, and gloried in the Sight.

EVERY

EVERY Perſon, rich or poor, who is diveſted of Humanity, whoſe Nature is changed, by Cuſtom or otherwiſe, into Barbarity, Brutality and Cruelty, ought to be hanged without Mercy, as the greateſt Nuſance to Society.

COLONEL *Charteris*, who was the greateſt Villain perhaps of his Age, (except *Jack Shepard*, who was more dextrous) and deſerved, though he eſcaped the Gallows innumerable times: But poor *Jack* was hanged at once, whilſt the Colonel was condemned at laſt of a Crime, the World muſt believe he was not guilty of, for the Sake of what had ſo often ſaved him.

THIS is the practical Part, correſponding to the *Characteriſticks* of the People of *Jamaica*, which I have drawn, and related without any Malice, or any intereſted Views, againſt them: Yet I cannot ſay, by the Depravity of human Nature, that it is poſſible for me to diveſt myſelf intirely of all Prejudices, after

ſo many unjuſt Sufferings amongſt them: And though I have kept ſtrictly to Matters of Fact, yet I do own, that it is a very hard Taſk, for an injured Perſon to give an Account of the Injuries done him, without mixing the Ink with a little of the Tincture of Gall.

BUT, to leave this diſagreeable Subject the following is an authentick Letter from my Correſpondent at *Cape-Breton*.

" To Dr. HOUSTOUN in *Jamaica*.

Louisbourg, Nov, 20. 1745.

" SIR,

" THE many Obligations I lie under to you, for your Care of me, " in the Hoſpital at *Chelſea*, to rear up a " Conſtitution, broke and almoſt worn " out upon ſo many unſucceſsful Expe- " ditions, make me embrace this Oppor- " tunity to acquaint you of the agreeable " News, that I have fallen at laſt upon a " very ſucceſsful one, againſt the *French* " Settlements on *Cape-Breton*, in Compa-

" ny

" ny with the *New-England* Land Forces;
" and I ſhall give you a ſuccinct and ex-
" act an Account of it, in as few Words
" as poſſibly I can.

" WE ſet out from *Boſton*, *March* 24,
" 1745, being of the *Maſſachuſets-Bay*
" Forces, to the Number of 3250 Men,
" excluſive of Officers; we arrived at
" *Canſo* the 4th of *April*, where we
" found the *New-Hampſhire* Forces, being
" 304 incluſive of Officers, and were
" joined the 25th of the ſame Month by
" the *Connecticut* Forces, being 516 Men
" including Officers, in all 4070: With
" theſe ſtout, hearty Fellows, and honeſt
" brave Officers, we all ſet out, unani-
" mous in our Inclinations and Reſolu-
" tions, to conquer, or to die under the
" Command of a Gentleman, as honeſtly
" brave, as courageouſly ſucceſsful, *Wil-*
" *liam Pepperell* Eſq; Lieutenant General
" and Commander in Chief of the *New-*
" *England* Forces, and we ſucceeded ac-
" cordingly.

"I SHALL not presume to trouble "you, with a Journal of all the Proceed- "ings from our first Landing at *Chapeau-* "*rouge* Bay, but only take notice of the "most remarkable Passages. *April* 29th "and 30th, and on the 1st of *May*, all "the Forces were landed, and began to get "Provisions and Stores on Shore: The "Landing of the heavy Artillery, Ammu- "nition, Provisions, *&c.* was attended with "extreme Difficulty and Fatigue; there "being no Harbour there, and the Surff "almost continually running very high, "so that some Days there was no landing "any thing at all, and often the Men "were obliged to wade high into the "Water, to save what was damageable "from being wet; and the poor Men "had no Cloaths to shift themselves, or "defend them from the Rigour of the "Weather, the Nights being very cold; "but *Resolution* in brave Men will over- "come all Difficulties.

"IT is incredible to think through what "almost unsurmountable Difficulties from "time

" time to time we raiſed our different " Batteries, and mounted our heavy Ar- " tillery; particularly on the 25th of " *May*, the thirteen Inch Mortar burſted, " and a Bombardier was thereby wounded, " occaſioned by ſome Flaw in the Shell, " which broke in the Mortar; but ano- " ther thirteen Inch Mortar from *Boſton* " was mounted in the ſame Place, and " play'd the eighth Day after the other " was burſt.

" THE conveying the Cannon was " with incredible Labour and Fatigue, " for all the Roads, over which they " were drawn, were either very rough, " rocky, hilly Way, or a deep Moraſs; " into which, whilſt the Cannon were " upon the Wheels, they ſeveral times " ſunk, ſo as to bury not only the Car- " riages, but the whole Body of the Can- " non likewiſe; Horſes and Oxen could " not be employed in this Service; but " the whole was to be done by the *Men* " *themſelves*, up to the Knees in Mud; " at the ſame time the Nights, in which

" the Work was done were cold, and for
" the moſt part foggy; their Tents alſo
" were bad, as there were no proper Mate-
" rials for Tents in *New England*, when
" the Forces were raiſed.

" BUT, notwithſtanding all theſe Dif-
" ficulties, and the People's being taken
" down by *Fluxes*, ſo that at one time
" there were no leſs than fifteen hundred
" Men incapable of doing Duty, occa-
" ſioned by their Fatigue, they went on
" chearfully, without being diſcouraged
" or murmuring; and by the Help of
" Sledges of about ſixteen Feet in length,
" five Feet in width, and twelve Inches
" thick, they tranſported the Cannon over
" thoſe Ways, to the Amazement of the
" *French*, who always thought them
" intirely impaſſable for ſuch heavy
" Bodies; as indeed they were by
" any People of leſs Reſolution and Per-
" ſeverance, or leſs Experience in remo-
" ving ſuch heavy Weights: And beſides
" this they had all the Proviſions, Powder,
" Shot, and Shells, which they daily made

" uſe

" uſe of, to convey over the ſame Ways " upon their Backs.

" I DON'T pretend, Sir, to give you " an Account of erecting all our Batte- " ries, and removing from time to time " to different ones, during the Siege, all " which was performed with good Con- " duct, and intrepid Courage.

" To ſee the Bravery and Reſolution of " theſe Men, when rightly command- " ed, raiſed in me ſome melancholy " Thoughts, in reflecting on our by-paſt " unſucceſsful Expeditions. What a Fi- " gure would the little Fort of *San Laza-* " *ro*, near *Cartagena*, have made before " them, who battered down the well- " fortified Town and ſtrong Forts of " *Louiſbourg!* which the *French* took to " be impregnable. You may remember I " was upon that *Cartagena* Expedition, " tho' I was not upon the Attack of *San* " *Lazaro*, where we had an Army of re- " gular Forces, double, nay, I may ſay, " near triple the Number of ours here.

" THE

" THE Plan of Operations for this " Expedition was regularly well concerted " between his Excellency *W. Shirley*, Esq; " Governor of *New-England*, our Gene- " ral, and *Peter Warren*, Esq; Commo- " dore of all his *Britannick* Majesty's " Ships and Vessels on this Expedition, " *&c.* and most gloriously executed by the " Undertakers: For Commodore *Warren* " arrived at *Canso*, *April* the 23d, in his " Majesty's Ship the *Superbe* of 60 Guns, " with three forty Gun Ships, the *Eltham*, " *Launceston* and *Mermaid*, *&c.* under " his Command, and, after having con- " ferred with the General by Letters, went " immediately with the Ships to cruize off " *Louisbourg*, who, with great Care and " Diligence, cut off all Communication " with the *French*, and took several " Prizes that were coming with Relief for " the Besieged: And, on the 21st of *May*, " he took the *Vigilant*, a *French* Man of " War of 64 Guns; on the 25th he was " joined by the *Princess Mary* of 60 " Guns; the 26th by the *Hector* of 40 " Guns; on the 10th of *June* by the

" *Chester*,

" *Cheſter*, arrived from *England*; on the " 12th the *Canterbury* and *Sunderland* " joined him, as did likewiſe the *Lark* " with a *Store-ſhip* under her Convoy, " for *Anapolis Royal*: So now, our Com- " modore having under his Command a " ſtrong Squadron, it was determined to " make a general *Attack* by Sea and " Land.

" So to work we went, to erect our " laſt and moſt uſeful Battery near the " *Light-houſe*, juſt oppoſite and within " three thouſand four hundred Feet of " the * *Iſland Battery*, on which we " had made ſeveral unſucceſsful Attempts, " being always beat back with Loſs. It " was a great Nuſance to us, and of the " greateſt Conſequence to be Maſters of " it, which, notwithſtanding the almoſt " inſuperable Difficulties that attended it, " was happily effected; for by the 14th " we

* This *Iſland Battery* was a ſtrong Fort at the Entrance of the Harbour, mounted with thirty twenty-eight Pounders, and ſeven Swivels, having two Braſs ten Inch Mortars, and garriſoned with an hundred and eighty Men.

" we had six eighteen Pounders mounted, " sustained by 320 Men, which did the " Business effectually.

" ON the 15th the large Mortar was " ordered to this Battery, and, a new Sup- " ply of Powder arriving, the Fire was " more fierce than ever, when the Mor- " tar began to play from this *Light-house* " *Battery* upon the *Island Battery*; out " of 19 Shells, 17 fell within the Fort, and " one of them upon the Magazine, which " together with the Fire from the Cannon, " to which the Enemy was very much " exposed, they having but little to shel- " ter them from the Shot, that ranged " quite through their Barracks, so terrified " them, that many of them left the Fort, " and ran into the Water for Refuge: " In short, the *West Gate* was demolished, " and a large Breach was made in the " Wall adjoining; the *West* Flank of the " *King*'s *Bastion* was almost ruined; all " the Houses and other Buildings almost " torn to Pieces, (but one House in the " Town being left unhurt) and the Ene- " my's

" my's Stock of Ammunition growing
" ſhort, they ſent out a Flag of Truce to
" the Camp, deſiring Time to conſider
" upon the Articles of Capitulation.

" THIS was granted till next Morn-
" ing; when they brought out Articles,
" which were refuſed, and others ſent in
" by the General and Commodore, which
" were agreed to by the Enemy.

" HOSTAGES were exchanged on the
" 17th of *June*, 1745, the City and For-
" treſſes of *Louiſbourg* were ſurrendered,
" and the Garriſon with all the Inhabi-
" tants, to the Number of 2000 capable
" of bearing Arms, made Priſoners, to be
" tranſported to *France* with all their per-
" ſonal Effects.

" DURING the whole Siege we had
" no more than 10 Men killed by the
" Enemy, and all other Accidents, and
" about 30 died of Sickneſs; but, accord-
" ing to the beſt Accounts, there were
" killed of the Enemy within the Walls
" about 300, beſides Numbers that died

" by

" by being confined within the *Caz-*
" *mates.*

" A MOST glorious Action! greatly
" surpassing the martial Atchievements of
" the great General *Wentworth*, and all
" his regular Forces! What is it that
" *Britons* cannot do, when they are una-
" nimous? Nothing can withstand them,
" when rightly conducted.

" HERE was great Unanimity, and a
" perfect Harmony betwixt the two com-
" manding Officers in chief, by Land and
" Sea; and indeed there was a perfect
" Agreement between all the Officers,
" and even amongst the common Soldiers.
" Upon this Expedition every Man fought
" with his Wife, Family, *&c.* at Stake,
" and Success brought him a comfortable
" Living for himself and Family to all
" Posterity, as his own Property; where-
" as a mercenary Soldier, who fights for
" *Six-pence* a Day, and a little Plunder,
" under Awe and Dread of military Disci-
" pline

" pline *only*, has Misery entailed on him-
" self and Family for Life.

" I SHALL not take up your Time in
" giving you a Description of the Island,
" which you may find elsewhere, but
" only tell you, that it is excessively cold
" at present, the Island being small and
" surrounded with Ice; but we have a
" Remedy at hand, Plenty of good Coal,
" upon the Sides of the Mountains, very
" near the Surface of the Earth, and great
" Plenty of all Sorts of Wood for only
" cutting down; particularly fine old *Oak*,
" enough for the whole *Navy* of *Great*
" *Britain*, and Pines large enough for the
" Masts of *first Rate* Men of War.

" IT is true we have some marshy
" Ground, and the Woods are not
" as yet cut down; but I dare venture to
" say, by draining the Marshes, which
" may be easily done, and clearing the
" Ground of the Under-wood, the Place
" would be as healthy as any other Part
" of *America*: In short, Sir, I like it

" so

" ſo well, that here I deſign to reſide
" with my Family for my Life-time, and
" put them in a very good Way of pro-
" viding for themſelves.

" WE have had ſome Surmiſes here
" in our Chit-chat Converſation, as if
" the King and Parliament deſigned to
" give it up a ſecond time to the *French*,
" at the Concluſion of a Peace; but the
" more thinking Part aſſure themſelves,
" that that cannot be: In as much as his
" moſt gracious *Majeſty*, with Conſent of
" his *Parliament*, when he iſſued out his
" *Royal Proclamation*, given at his Court
" at St. *James*'s the ninth Day of *April*,
" 1740, and confirmed by an Act of
" Parliament paſſed that Seſſions, entitled,
" *An Act for the more effectual ſecuring*
" *and encouraging the Trade of his Ma-*
" *jeſty*'s Britiſh *Subjects to* America,* and
" for the Encouragement of Seamen to
" enter into his Majeſty's Service; for
" raiſing Forces, for conquering and ſub-
" duing this, and all other Settlements
" from

* See the ſaid *Proclamation* and *Act of Parliament*.

" from the Enemy; his Majeſty has been
" graciouſly pleaſed to give us his Royal
" Word, with parliamentary Security,
" That whatever we conquered from the
" Enemy ſhould become our own Pro-
" perty; with due Acknowledgment
" and Subjection to his *Britannick* Ma-
" jeſty and the conſtitutional Laws of our
" Mother-Country, *Great Britain*, as ex-
" preſſed in the aforefaid Proclamation
" and Act of Parliament: So that what
" we have conquered here, or elſewhere
" from the Enemy, at the Riſk of our
" own Lives and Fortunes, and are now
" in Poſſeſſien of, under the Sanction of
" this Proclamation and Act of Parlia-
" ment, we reckon as much our own
" Property as a *Shilling* that we earn for
" a Day's hard Labour; and we take our
" Security for this Property to be the ve-
" ry beſt in the whole World, the Con-
" ſtitution of *Great Britain* never to be
" unhinged.

" Now, Sir, I conclude by ſending
" you encloſed an exact Account and

" Computation of the *French Fiſhery*, as " it was carried on before the War, on " the Banks of *Newfoundland*, *Cape-Bre-* " *ton*, *&c.* the *Whole* depending on the " Port of *Louiſbourg*, as a Cover and Pro- " tection to it, *&c.* with the Advantages " accruing to *France* from it before the " War, and Diſadvantages by the Loſs " of it, with the vaſt Advantages and " Importance to *Great Britain*, by con- " quering and keeping Poſſeſſion of this " important Place, as it was given in to " General *Pepperell* on the Spot, by ſuch " of ourſelves, who, at *Canſo* and *Louiſ-* " *bourg*, have been Eye-witneſſes of it, " and from their Captains, *&c.* of their " Ships, at different occaſional Converſa- " tions, on comparing the *French* Fiſhery " with the *Engliſh*; and tranſmitted by " the General to *Great Britain*, for the " Conſideration of his Majeſty in Council, " and our *Britiſh* Parliament, as follows,

" FROM the Gut of *Canſo* down along " Shore to *Louiſbourg*, and from thence " to the North-Eaſt Part of *Cape-Breton*, " there was yearly imployed at leaſt 500

" *Shal-*

" *Shallops.* And these required, at Sea " and on Shore, 5 Men each; which " amount to 2500 Men: And 60 *Bri-* " *gantines, Schooners* and *Sloops*, each of " 15 Men; making 900 Men more: " Which together make 3400 Men.

" ALLOW these 500 *Shallops* to catch 300 " Quintals of Fish each in the Summer- " Season; and the Whole is 150,000 " Quintals: And the 60 *Brigs, Schooners*, " &c. each 600 Quintals, which make " 36,000 more. So that there is made at " *Cape-Breton* annually of Fish 186,000 " *Quintals.*

" NOW, to carry this Fish to *Europe*, " to Market, there must be employed " 93 Sail of *Ships* of the Burthen of 2000 " Quintals each, one with the other, and " each of these *Ships* have at least 20 *Men*, " which are 1860 *Seamen.* And these, " added to the 3400 *Fishermen* above, " make 5260 Men employed at *Cape-* " *Breton* only in the FISHERY.

" AT *Gaspay, Quadre*, and other Har-

" bours, mentioned in the following Esti-
" mation, there are six Ships yearly,
" which, as they come out from *France*
" mann'd to catch their own Cargoes in
" *Shallops*, they haul up and leave in
" the Country every Winter, till they
" return the next Spring, one with ano-
" ther may be allowed 60 Hands. And
" it has always been allowed, from *St.*
" *Maloes* and *Granville* they have at least
" 300 Sail of these Ships in this Fishery,
" that fish at *Petit Nord*, *Fishante*, *Belle-*
" *Isle*, and the *Gulph*; which will, all
" computed as above, (allowing those
" Ships, that so come out to make their
" own Voyages, to carry each 3000
" Quintals) be as follows:——

	Ships.	Men.	Quintals.
" At *Cape-Breton*	93	5260	186,000
" At *Gaspay*	6	360	18,000
" At *Quadre*	6	360	18,000
" At *Port en Basque*	6	360	18,000
" At *Le Foils Isles*	3	180	9,000
" *St. Malos* Men	300	18,000	900,000
	414	24,520	1149,000

HERE

" HERE it may be objected, that of " the 300 Ships above from *St. Ma-* " *los* (which they inſiſt upon) ſome of " them are of thoſe Ships above-rec- " koned at *Gaſpay*, *Quadre*, &c. which " is well known to be ſo. But, then, no " regard is here had to the Ships ſo em- " ploy'd, among the reſt, from *St. Juan* " *de Luz*, *Bayonne*, *Nantz*, *Havre de* " *Grace*, &c. which go annually into " thoſe Parts on the ſame Voyage; and " are a great many more in Number than " thoſe 21 Ships above; and would, " could an exact Liſt be had, much " ſwell the Account.

" BESIDES all theſe, there have been " conſtantly from the River *Sendre*, *Olune*, " *Poiteux*, *Havre*, &c. 150 Ships at leaſt, " the *French* ſay 200 Sail, employed in " the *Mud-Fiſhery*, or *Mort Veſt* (as they " call it) from 16 to 24 Men each: Which " carry home, upon an Average, from " 22,000 to 30,000 Fiſh in Number; " which make, on the moſt moderate " Eſtimate, 150 Sail of Ships: And, on a

" Medium, at 20 Men each, employ " 3000 Men, and in the Whole 3,900,000 " Fiſhes in Tale. Theſe Ships are " fitted out in *France* for their Voyages " on the *Banks*, and there tarry till they " are laden; unleſs they meet with any " Diſturbance (in which Caſe they reſort " to *Cape-Breton* for Shelter and Supplies " and from thence home to *France*. " And it was thus frequent for them, " when they had made their Voyages, " to go into *Cape-Breton* for Water eſpe- " pecially, as they had no other Port.

" IN regard to the Value of this Branch " of Trade, it is neceſſary here to obſerve, " that there is hereby produced a large " Quantity of *Train Oil*; which *France* " has always an immediate Demand for at " Home, for their Woollen Manufactures, " Lights, *&c.* And with which alſo their " Sugar Colonies, that can't do without it, " are yearly ſupplied. It is certainly well " known, that they either do, or may at " leaſt, make one Hogſhead of ſixty Gal- " lons of Oil, clear drawn off from the

" Blubber,

" Blubber, out of every hundred Quintals " of Fiſh. And this, out of the Quantity " of Fiſh before mentioned, will produce " 11,490 Hogſheads of Oil. And, allow- " ing that 4000 Fiſhes in Number are " equal to 100 Quintals when cured, then " the 3,900,000 Mud-fiſh, by the ſame " Rule, will yield 975 Hogſheads of Oil; " which added to the other make 12,465 " Hogſheads of Train-oil, which are equal " to 3116 Tons and a Quarter.

	l.	*s.*
" Now, let the 1,149,000 " Quintals of Fiſh be va- " lued only at 10*s.* Sterling " *per* Quintal, the prime " Coſt uſually at *New-* " *foundland*, and it is worth	574,500	00
" And, to this, allow 3*s.* " Sterling Freight *per* Quin- " tal of it, in *Engliſh* Bot- " toms, to Market	172,350	00
" And then the Fiſh only " is worth	746,850	00

	l.	*d.*
" Brought over	746,850	: 00
" AND let the 3116 & qr. " Tons of Oil be valued at " 18*l.* Sterling *per* Ton, the " the Amount of it is	56,092	: 10
" As to the Mud-fiſh, it " is generally ſold in *France* " at 1000 Livres *per* 1000 " Fiſh; and then, at 11*d.* " Sterling *per* Livre, their " Value is	178,750	: 00
" AND thus it appears, " that One Year's Fiſhery " of the *French* only is " worth, Sterling,	981,692	: 10

" WHICH great Branch of Trade in a " manner depends entirely on their Poſ- " ſeſſion of the Iſland of *Cape-Breton*, as " it is impoſſible to carry it on without " ſome convenient Harbour of Strength, " *&c.* to ſupply, ſupport and protect it: " And it is now with us to determine, " whether they ſhall enjoy it or not?

" IN

" IN Addition to this, let us conſider, " that, in regard to the *Woollen Manu-* " *facture*, the Staple and Dependance of " *England*; in which alſo the *French* " have been vying with us, and have now " brought that *Trade* to ſuch a Pitch as " to carry it all over not only their own " Dominions, (formerly obliged to us for " fine Cloaths) but to a great Advantage " into *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Turkey*, even to " the great Detriment of *England*.—I " ſay, in regard to this Branch of Trade, " allow that every Man before-mentioned " in the Fiſhery, in his Blanket, Watch- " coat, and Rug, Pea-jacket, *&c.* con- " ſumes of theſe coarſer Woollens 30 *s.* " Sterling *per Annum*, at that Rate even " *their* Conſumption will be 41,250 *l.* " Sterling; which, had we the whole " Fiſhery to ourſelves, muſt of courſe be " of our own Manufacture.

" BUT beſides this, all due Conſi- " deration muſt be had to the Canvaſs, " Cordage, Hooks, Lines, Twine, Nets, " Lead, Nails, Spikes, Edge-tools, Grap- " lings,

" lings, Anchors, *&c. &c.* that 564 Ships,
" and the *Shallops* to fish for them, must
" expend at Sea and on Shore: And al-
" low all these to be *British*, and the
" immediate Value of this Branch of
" Trade to *England*, could she (or rather
" would she) keep it to herself, will disco-
" ver itself of greater Consequence than
" *any other*; not even excepting the To-
" BACCO; that is, than any other Trade
" dependent on the Plantations. *First*,
" in regard to the raising Seamen for the
" Royal Navy: *Secondly*, the Consump-
" tion of the *British* Manufacture and
" Produce: And, *above all*, in a certain
" yearly Remittance of the Ballance of
" this Trade made to *England* from
" *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, &c. either in
" Specie, or in such foreign Commodities
" as pay his Majesty a prodigious Reve-
" nue; and this procured by Dint of La-
" bour only, and fetched out of the
" Abundance of our Seas.

" THUS, supposing the *French* entirely
" excluded this Fishery, (as *may* and *must*
" be

" be the Caſe if *England* keeps *Cape-Bre-*
" *ton*, and allows them no Privilege at
" *Newfoundland*; — for then they will
" not have any Port convenient for them
" at leaſt till they fortify upon the Main,
" in the Gulph of *St. Laurence*,—which,
" having *Cape Breton*, we may hinder
" when we pleaſe. And adding the Ad-
" vantage of this Fiſhery to that of our
" own already, and conſidering, that the
" whole Papal Empire muſt then depend
" on us ſolely for this *Bacaláos*, which
" they can't do without, which will give
" us almoſt the whole Trade of the *Me-*
" *diterranean*, and all the other national
" Advantages that muſt ariſe from this
" Conſequence; and the preſent Acqui-
" ſition of *Cape-Breton*, unpeopling the
" *French* Colony there, and reducing the
" Garriſons to his MAJESTY's Obedi-
" ence, which muſt give us all the reſt,
" is *of itſelf* a ſufficient COMPENSATION
" FOR THE WAR; and will be ſo al-
" lowed by all thoſe concerned in Trade,
" that know the many Advantages and
" Benefits that muſt ariſe from this Branch

" of

" of it only to *England*, by monopolizing " the Whole of it.*

" BUT beſides the national Advantage " by the Fiſhery;— by the Reduction " of *Cape-Breton*, and an *Engliſh* Gar- " riſon there, *France* has not any one " Sea-port for the Relief of their trading " Ships, either to or from the *Eaſt* or " *Weſt-Indies*, open to them any where " in *North America*, to the Northward " of the River of *Miſſiſippi*: For *Canada* " is not to be looked upon as an *open* " *Port* to the Sea; it being firſt ſixty " or ſeventy Leagues *within Land*, " through the *Gulph*, to the Mouth of " the River; and then a great deal fur- " ther up the River. So that it is im- " practicable to think of going *thither* for " Shelter: And of Conſequence the " whole Trade to and from the *Weſt-In-* " *dies*, &c. will be not only expoſed to " our Privateers from the Northern Co- " lonies in *War-time*, without any Place

" to

* More valuable than the Poſſeſſion of the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*.

" to retreat to, but even in *Peace*, with-
" out any Sea-port they can call their
" own, or lay any Pretenſions *now* to do,
" in theſe Seas, any where to the North-
" ward of *Miſſiſippi*, as above ſaid.

" AND as to *Canada* itſelf,—the *River*
" is *now* ſo much under our Command,
" as well as the *Gulph*, that all Trade
" *there* may be very eaſily ſtopped, and
" all Communication cut off from them
" by our Ships in and out of *Cape Breton*.
" So that (without Force or Arms) in a
" very few Years that Colony would fall,
" and the whole Trade of Furs, carried
" on with the *Indians* there, come into
" the *Engliſh* Hands, as *Canada* may be
" unable to ſupply or furniſh them. But
" a happier Conſequence than this will
" be, that as they may be kept from ſup-
" plying the *Indians* to trade, ſo alſo to
" encourage them from annoying our
" Frontiers: And they (the *Indians*) even
" *muſt* become obliged to, and dependent
" upon, *Us*; ſo that we ſhall not be in
" ſuch continual Apprehenſions of their

" *Ho-*

" *Hoſtilities*, but rather may have them " in as much *Subjection* to *Us*, as they have " been to the *French*.

" To all that is ſaid before in regard " to *Cape-Breton*, let it be added, that by " this Acquiſition we have ſecured to the " Nation the Garriſon of *Annapolis* " *Royal*, and the Colony of *Nova Sco-* " *tia*; which being a very rich and fer- " tile Soil, and its Coaſts and Rivers a- " bounding with Fiſh, and ſettled by " *French* Catholicks, that Nation has " much regretted the Loſs of, and wanted " to recover. Yea, and which they en- " deavoured to retake, by laying Siege to " *Annapolis*, both the *laſt* Year, 1744, " and this *preſent* Year; and would have " got it, had it not been for our Expe- " dition to *Cape-Breton*, which cauſed " them to raiſe their Siege and withdraw. " And, by our HOLDING *Cape-Breton*, " we ſhall keep thoſe *French* Inhabitants " at *Acadia* in ſtrict Allegiance to HIS " MAJESTY, or elſe oblige them to " quit their Poſſeſſions; which are all

" *Farms*,

" *Farms*, brought to and fit for any Ser-
" vice immediately; which will be an
" Encouragement to our own Subjects
" to go and settle there; and also oblige
" the *Cape-Sable Indians*, our Enemies,
" either to abandon that Shore, and fly
" to *Canada* for such Shelter and Supply
" as they can spare them. And by that
" Means we shall get rid of that Tribe
" at least, if not, by the same Means
" those also of the *St. John*'s Tribe,
" which have been always troublesome to
" us; as both these Tribes have had their
" Dependance entirely on *Cape-Breton* and
" the *French Acadia*; the latter of which (as
" Neuters) have been supplied and used as
" Subjects both by the *English* and *French*:
" Which we have long enough lamented
" the bad Consequence of, and which now
" is stopt; so that they must either depend
" entirely upon us, and become good Sub-
" jects with us, or else on the *French*.
" And if the latter, they must of course
" retreat to *Canada*, (where they will help
" distress, rather than relieve, that Colony)
" and leave us *Nova Scotia* disencumbered
" both of themselves and Salvages.

" HAD

" HAD we not taken *Cape Breton* this " Year, and the *French* had taken *Anna-* " *polis*, (which it's not disputed they " would have done, had we been idle) " the Consequence then would have been, " —All the Inhabitants of *Nova Scotia* " would have declared for the *French* " King immediately, and the Colony at " once been establish'd to him; and all " the *Cape-Sable* and *St. John*'s *Indians*, " who assisted at the Siege of *Annapolis* " with those of *Canada*, would have been " well supplied with Arms, Ammunition, " *&c.* and set loose upon our Frontiers; " and their Success would have so dispirited " even those other Tribes, that pretend to " be at Peace with us, that they must have " joined with them; and they together " would have carried Havock, Devasta- " tion and Ravage, all over our Frontiers; " their Men of War and Privateers, by " Sea, would have destroyed our Sea- " ports, and kept us in continual Alarms, " without having it in our Power to hin- " der them from carrying their Conquests " from *Annapolis*, along our Eastern

" Shore

" Shore, even to *Cape-Ann*, were they " ſo inclined.

" THE quiet Poſſeſſion of all which " for the future in great Meaſure de- " pends immediately on this Acquiſition " and Keeping of *Cape-Breton*, if not for- " tified Ourſelves at leaſt from the " *French*."*

Now it only remains incumbent upon me, as the *Publiſher*, that I ſhould give ſome Account of *myſelf*, and how I came by theſe *Memoirs*..

IT is enough for the World to know, that I am the Son of the famous *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, Eſq; and I hope they'll have ſome Regard for me on my Father's Account; ſo I addreſs *myſelf* ſolely to the *Author*, if alive, or, if dead, to his *Piis Manibus*. I have picked up, Sir, theſe *your Memoirs*, from a great Heap of looſe

* And whoever ſo much as thinks of giving it up a ſecond time, his Name and Memory will ſtink to all Eternity.

Papers, all wrote with your own Hand, to which I have made no Additions or Alterations, only collected and connected, I will not say digested, what I met with in your *Manuscripts*. I have had little or no Regard to Symmetry in Time, what I wanted was *good Sense* more than *Chronology*; so the *Facts* are related, in regard only to the Time of your own Life as they happened, and, I am sure, that I have had more Trouble in collecting and connecting than you had in remarking them, which you did only for your own Pleasure and Satisfaction; so I shall make no farther Apology for publishing them to the World; which is divided into three *Tribes*, under whose Cognizance an *Author* stands or falls, *viz.*

The *Frowns* or *Favour* of the *Great*;
The *Applause* or *Censure* of the *Criticks*;

or, how the *People in general* stand affected. The only *Apology* that I have to make is to *yourself*, for throwing these loose, crude, and indigested *Conceptions* (as you are pleased to call them) naked as they

they are into the World, without your Leave.

Now, Sir, as to the first Class, I have a *Lord*, and a *great Lord* too, who has promised me to accept of a *Dedication*, which would have served more properly for a *Prologue* than *Epilogue*; but I am so fond of it *myself*, that I cannot forbear giving it you; and here it goes.

My LORD,

IF I was to describe the many political Transactions, as well in ecclesiastical as civil Affairs, of your Great Forefathers; the great and glorious martial *Atchievements* of your noble Ancestors; and the Source of your most *noble Family*, they must swell into a Volume as big as *Baker*'s *Chronicles*; but transcendent above all your *Ancestors* is your *Lordship*'s great personal Honour, profound Learning, and inexpressible Merit, so very conspicuous and extensive, that no Language, even the most copious in the World, can find *Words* to express your Lordship's real

Honour and Merit. ——Wherefore—— I muſt be ſilent. So you ſee, we ſhall eſcape, and ſave *Ourſelves* on this Side.

IF the *Criticks* begin to ſnarl, I'll leave them to you, and (if you are alive) perhaps we may reap the Benefit of it, by your anſwering them; for *when Thieves and Rogues fall out, honeſt Men come to their own.*

As for the third Claſs, they are quite out of our *Sphere*, beneath our Notice, for it is only ſhooting a Parcel of Small-ſhot amongſt the *Multitude*, and they'll diſperſe immediately, and run away to leave you on the Field of Battle: In like manner as you have pleaſed yourſelf in writing theſe *Memoirs*, why ſhould I not take the ſame Liberty in pleaſing myſelf by publiſhing them?

FOR whatever Diſpleaſure I may incur from you, I ſhall make no other Apology than to tell the World, that I have been intimately acquainted with you, ever ſince

you

you have had the leaſt Remembrance of yourſelf, fifty Years and upwards, and I have *Vanity* enough to think, that I know you, *intus & in cute*, as well, if not better than you do yourſelf. I am ſure, had I met with theſe *Memoirs* in the barbarous, rude, or moſt civilized, polite Countries, I ſhould have known the *Man*, without having one Letter of his Name mentioned; and he muſt be a very complete *Limner* indeed, who can draw his own Picture to an exact Likeneſs, when he can only ſit to it by *Reflexion*, as in a Looking-glaſs: But it is a greater and much more difficult Taſk, though infinitely more uſeful to Mankind, to delineate *Human Nature* and *Human Art*, in ſuch Lights and Colours as Mankind may be able to read, and ſee *themſelves* ſo clearly as to diſcover the innumerable *Snares* that are laid for them, as well by the Paſſions and Foibles of *human Nature*, as thoſe laid for them by *human Art*, ſo as to endeavour, to the utmoſt of their Power and Ability, to avoid ſplitting on the *Rock* in the Courſe of human Life.

I HAVE often heard you say, That the *Mind* is formed by *Genius* and *Education.*

GENIUS, at its first Formation, depends chiefly on the Quantity, Quality, and Circulation of the *animal Spirits*, when there's no wrong Organization of the Solids; and by its second Formation, *Education*, which is only a due Cultivation of that *Genius*, whilst it is in its infant State, capable of being moulded, and turned into an infinite Number of different Shapes: So you call *Genius*, *human Nature*, the Work of the *Almighty Author* of Nature; and *Education*, *human Art*, the Work of *Man*: These two, you say, form the Mind; and you are of Opinion, that the *Diseases of the Mind* may be as rationally accounted for, from these known Causes, as the *Diseases of the Body* can be accounted for, from the Quantity, Quality, and Circulation of the Blood in the animal Oeconomy; for that the *animal Spirits* are sooner affected, and more sensibly altered by Change of Air, Diet,

Diet, *&c.* at leaſt more viſibly altered, than the Blood, from which they are ſecreted; and I have remarked, in your *Obſervations on the Coaſt of* Guinea, publiſhed in the Year 1725, wherein you ſay, Page 38, that,

" YOU moſt heartily regretted the Loſs " of a *Camelion*, which you kept alive for " ſome Months, which afforded you Mat- " ter of Speculation in your melancholy " Hours, by evidently demonſtrating to " you, the *Sympathy* betwixt the Soul and " the Body; for according to the different " Paſſions you raiſed in the Mind, the " Body changed immediately into different " Colours: When it was perfectly pleaſed, " it was of a beautiful light Green, and " the whole Body, Tail and all, appeared " tranſparent; when diſpleaſed, or very " angry, of a dark, cloudy Colour, and " the Body and Tail perfectly opake; " and, according to the intermediate Paſ- " ſions, from the one extreme to the " other, ſo were the intermediate Colours " formed beautiful to Admiration.

THIS Animal afforded Subject-matter for ſublime Speculation, and ocular Demonſtration, to ſhew the *natural Sympathy* betwixt *Soul* and *Body*.

AND I have likewiſe frequently heard you ſay, that you could rationally and mechanically account for the Variety and Diverſity of Tempers and Humours of the Mind, with their different Diſtempers even unto Death, by what you call *Morbus Animæ*, and particularly account for the Diverſity of your own Temper, and Variety of Humour, (and I am ſure none ever had a greater) from the above-mentioned natural Cauſes, and their Effects: At the ſame time I muſt do you the Juſtice to acknowledge, that I always found the *fundamental Maxims* in your Way of thinking uniform, and unalterably the ſame.

YOU have likewiſe been pleaſed to tell us, that, from the long Experience and Practice you have had, in ſo many different Countries in the *Torrid Zone*, you have

have known more People die of Diſeaſes of the *Mind*, which you call the *Soul*, than of Diſeaſes of the *Body*. It's certain, there's a natural, certain, and conſtant *Sympathy* betwixt the Soul and the Body, and, when the Source and original Cauſe of the Diſeaſe proceeds from the Mind, the Body is likewiſe affected, and ſuffers of courſe, as ſymptomatical Effects only; and, *vice versâ*, from the Body to the Soul, even unto Death.

NOW ſuppoſe I ſhould aſk you, How the Soul actuates upon the Body to produce this *Sympathy*? Why! the Queſtion is as abſurd, as to aſk the Cauſe that produces *centripetal Motion*, or *magnetic Attraction*, of which we have ocular Demonſtration, the Cauſe occult, as yet only known to the *Almighty Author* of Nature.

BY your looſe Papers, amongſt your medicinal Obſervations, I find that you frequently make uſe of the following Expreſſion, in a great many different Caſes.

THE

THE Source and original Cauſe of this Diſeaſe proceeds entirely from the *Mind*, and thoſe are only ſymptomatical Effects which appear and affect the Body.

Dato morbo invenire remedium:

And then follows the Ratio and practical Obſervation; and there's particularly one Scrap of Paper, which to me looks like the *Title-page* of a Treatiſe of this Nature, giving an Account of the various Diſeaſes of the *Mind*, with their Cauſes, Symptoms, and Effects on the *human Body*.

Morbi Animæ, tam è Nervorum fluidis ab exceſſu Spirituum animalium, circulationis nimiæ, eorumque defectu circulationis parvæ, quam è Nervorum ſolidis, Fibræ rigidæ & tenſæ, laxæ & debilis: & De Morbis inde oriundis.

BUT, to underſtand *human Nature* thoroughly requires great Study and Application, as well as great Penetration and Sagacity.

AND

AND to underſtand *human Art*, ſo as to be able to trace it thro' all its Turnings and Windings, into an infinite Number of different Shapes, requires a great deal more Knowledge, than the mere Study of the animal Oeconomy and Literature, and to be learnt only from a clear Underſtanding, ſound Judgment, and Obſervations in the Courſe of *human Life*.

WHEN *Genius* exerts itſelf without the leaſt *Education*, you call it the *primitive* State of Nature; for there can be no *Education* without *Genius*, but there may be *Genius* without *Education*; and then you call in the great Sir *Iſaac Newton* to your Aſſiſtance.

" ADJICERE jam liceret" (ſays the great and immortal Sir *Iſaac Newton* in his *Philoſophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, at the Concluſion of that inimitable Work) " nonnulla de ſpiri-
" tu quodam ſubtiliſſimo corpora craſ-
" ſa pervadente, et in iiſdem latente; cu-
" jus vi et actionibus particulæ corporum

" ad

" ad minimas distantias se mutuo attra-
" hunt, et contiguæ factæ coherent; et cor-
" pora Electrica agunt ad distantias majo-
" res, tam repellendo quam attrahendo
" corpuscula vicina, et Lux emittitur, re-
" flectitur, refringitur, inflectitur, et cor-
" pora calefacit; et sensatio omnis excita-
" tur, et membra animalium ad voluntа-
" tem moventur, vibrationibus scilicet hujus
" Spiritûs per solida nervorum capillamen-
" ta, ab externis sensuum organis ad cere-
" brum et a cerebro in musculos propaga-
" tis: (And that incomparable Gentleman concludes) " Sed hæc paucis exponi non
" possunt; neque adest sufficiens copia
" Experimentorum, quibus leges actionum
" hujus Spiritûs accurate determinari et
" demonstrari debent."

WHAT Pity it is, that this *great Man* did not apply himself to the Study of *Medicine*, and the *animal Oeconomy*; for from him we should have learnt more of the Laws of Nature, reduced to a regular Mathematical System, according to this *Specimen* he has left us, than from all the World

World beſide, till there riſes up a *ſecond Newton*, to apply himſelf to this Study: At leaſt we ſhould have had no Occaſion for your *Eſſay on Genius and Education.*

THE indefatigable and learned Dr. *Boerhaave*, (that *Helluo Librorum)* has gone ſome length this Way; but I am ſorry that he broke off ſo abruptly, I fancy through Sickneſs or Death: And what looſe Thoughts I have got of yours, amongſt your *Memoirs*, on this Subject, I vow and proteſt, if you don't overcome that damned Indolence, (your old Companion, only when Neceſſity or ſome whimſical Humour rouzes you, and obliges you to ſhake her off for a Time), and make what Haſte you can to digeſt them into ſome Method, and nothing but Death ſhall excuſe you, I'll ſend them the ſame Way with your *Memoirs*, ſtark naked as they are at preſent, into the World, to ſhift for themſelves, *Scots* like; which perhaps may incite ſome more able and willing Hand to ſay ſomething to the Purpoſe on that glorious Subject. For my own

Part,

Part, I muſt acknowledge, that I have pickt up, even from thoſe looſe, indigeſted Scraps of yours, ſome Knowledge, and Obſervations on *human Nature*, that may prove very uſeful and advantageous in the Courſe and Conduct of human Life, which I was an entire Stranger to, before I had the Hints from you; but, as I am no competent Judge in theſe Affairs, I ſhall only ſay, that a Treatiſe on this Subject, from an able Hand, would be of great Benefit to Mankind, and greatly contribute to the Support of Society.

So, pray Sir, do you think that you could know your own abortive Conceptions, if you were to ſee them again? Well! it is your own *Brat*, your very Likeneſs: Tho' I took it up a *Foundling*, I'll nurſe it a little for old Acquaintance ſake, and, as ſoon as it can walk alone, I'll ſend it abroad to ſhift for itſelf, like its *Papa*. I have likewiſe got your *Creed*, *laſt Will and Teſtament*, *Epitaph*, &c.

I WOULD have you keep the *Creed*, for

for your own private Uſe, till you find it of more Benefit and Service for the Publick than thoſe they have got already; and, as for your *Laſt Will and Teſtament*, I would likewiſe adviſe you to keep that too, till you get ſome *Mexican* Dollars, to anſwer the Diſpoſition and good Intention of the *Will*, for the World ſeems not inclined at preſent to take your Word for it; in mean time I'll give them your Epitaph *gratis*, to be inſcrib'd on your Tomb-ſtone.

ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ.
Deum pius adoravi, Qui eſt:
Intelligere de Deo unice volui id,
Quod Deus de ſe intelligit:
Eo contentus ultra nihil requiſivi
ne Idololatriâ erraré.
Ens Entium!
Miſerere Mei!

In fine, the Inference, which I can draw from the Whole, is, that the only great and difficult *Taſk*, in the Courſe of *human Life*, is, to *know yourſelf*; this *Noſce Te-ipſum* is the grand Secret of Life; for

for the whole Courſe of Life is only one continual Struggle between our *Reaſon* and our *Paſſions*, which ſhall get the better; the Paſſions are ſo ſtrong, the Underſtanding ſo weak, and the Courſe of Life ſo very ſhort, that we cannot poſſibly arrive to that Perfection only comparatively, ſome nearer than others; but, if you *know yourſelf*, all other Knowledge comes in courſe by Application, and conſequently you'll very ſoon diſcover, that

The World's a Bubble, and all Things ſhew it;
I thought ſo once, at laſt I knew it.

YOU have had this thought of Mr. *Gay*; you have altered the Words, but the *Reaſon* continues ſtrong for it; as you have divided the World into

BUBBLERS and BUBBLEES,
Hic aut Hæc.
HOMO:

So I conclude your *Memoirs*, at preſent with theſe Sentiments of that polite Writer, my Lord *Shafteſbury*, in the firſt Volume of his *Characteriſticks*.

"THE

" THE only Method which can juſtly
" qualify us, for this high Privilege of
" giving *Advice*, is in the firſt Place to
" *receive it ourſelves*, with due Submiſ-
" ſion, where the Publick has vouch-
" ſafed to give it us by Authority; and
" if in our private Capacity, we can
" have Reſolution enough to criticiſe
" ourſelves, and call in queſtion our high
" Imaginations, florid Deſires, and ſpe-
" cious Sentiments, according to the
" Manner of Soliloquy above preſcribed,
" we ſhall, by the natural Courſe of
" Things, as we grow wiſer, prove leſs
" conceited, and introduce into our Cha-
" racter, that Modeſty, Condeſcenſion,
" and juſt Humanity, which is eſſential
" to the Succeſs of all friendly Counſel
" and Admonition; an honeſt, home
" Philoſophy muſt teach us the whole-
" ſome Practice within ourſelves; polite
" Reading and Converſe with Mankind
" of the better Sort will qualify us for
" what remains."

Now you see Mr. *Bickerstaff* threatens me very hard, if I don't continue my Memoirs, that he will publish what loose Papers he has of mine in his Hands; I know the *Man* well; though he says he was born in *England*, I dare say he is of *Scotch* Extract, for he is d-mn-d *Positive*; if he says he'll do it, he certainly will do it; therefore I think it more advisable for me, to publish them myself: It is true, that he has made a tolerable good Apology for himself, which has put me upon my Mettle to make an Apology for myself, as Example is infinitely stronger than Precept, and Virtue appears more beautiful, when it enters into Contrast with Vice. I am perfuaded the judicious Reader will be able to draw some good moral Reflections from the whole, and though it should be at my Cost, I am pleased, so I'll e'en jogg on to the End of my Journey.

I left *Jamaica*, that *Den* of Th-v-s, sheltered under their own Wings by Authority

Authority among themſelves, not in a clandeſtine Manner, by Stealth, as it was maliciouſly and villainouſly reported, to murder my Character at Home, as they had done Abroad, for I put up my Name in the Secretary's-Office, according to the Law and Cuſtom of the Country, ſome Months before I left the Iſland, and Nobody offered to underwrite me; I embarked publickly at Noon-day on board the Ship *Shirely*, with the Governor's Certificate and Paſſport, and arrived ſafe in *London*, in the Year 1747. This was gaining a Point by the *Jamaica* People, and what they had aimed at for ſome Time; for there was then owing to me in the Iſland of *Jamaica* 2200 *l.* that Currency, and I ſued, and had obtained a Verdict (See pag. 323.) againſt one of their *Grandees* for 1600 *l.* who muſtered up all his Strength and Forces to ruin me and force me off the Iſland; ſo thus diſabled to get rid of me at any Rate, for I am ſure I did not owe 200 *l.* in all the

Iſland; ſo they get clear by me 2000 *l.* by Balance, nor do I expect ever to recover a Shilling, unleſs I could catch that *Grandee* Judge *Manning*, out of his *Den* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, I would ſoon ſhew him the Difference; or if I could have laid hold on their late Attorney-General and Executioner *Penny*, an Action for falſe Impriſonment would have lain againſt him, as I am well adviſed by Counſel learned in the Law; or if I could find a proper Method of moving the Cauſe, from the Courts of *Jamaica* to *England*; for there is no ſuch Thing as carrying on a Proſecution againſt lawleſs People at ſuch a Diſtance, who have the Power in their own Hands, which is well known and ſufficiently felt by Thouſands as well as myſelf; for I dare ſay, the Iſland of *Jamaica* is indebted ſome Hundreds of Thouſands of Pounds to the Cities of *London*, *Briſtol* and *Liverpoole*, &c. which on Balance of Accounts will amount to a greater Sum than would purchaſe the whole

whole Iſland, Effects and all, as it now ſtands; which may be eaſily made appear by the Merchants Books; as for my own Part, I would not give an hundred Pounds for a Debt of a Thouſand of the beſt Man in *Jamaica*, unleſs he was willing to pay it; for there are ſeveral able enough if they were willing. I heard one of their *Grandees*, who was Preſident of the Council and Governor for the Time being, (as there was no Governor at that Time appointed from *England)* talking about getting a Gentleman, well verſed in the Law and Cuſtoms of the Court of Chancery, to ſit as Chancellor, or Aſſeſſor to the Governor as Chancellor; No, (ſays he) that will never do, How ſhall we then be able to ſerve our Friends? For in that Country they are generally divided into Factions, or Parties, the one called the Governor's Party, the other the Country Party, and they follow one another like a String of wild Geeſe, and ſtick cloſe as Glue, *Right or Wrong*, all

is turned into Party Affairs, which they endeavour to do in every Thing that comes on the Carpet; ſo when the Governor ſhews himſelf a Gentleman of Spirit (as they call it) eſpecially, when he has ſucked in the *Jamaica* Air for a long Time, which contaminates the Mind, by bringing Cuſtom into a ſecond Nature, more particularly when *creolized*, his Party muſt always prevail, for his Power is great, and as abſolute as the *Grand Mogul* for the Time being; he can diſſolve the Aſſembly, place and diſplace Judges, without aſſigning any Cauſe to them for ſo doing, and ſuſpend all Officers, civil or military, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure is known; he does it firſt and anſwers for it afterwards; there was one of the Country Party, a Man of Credit and Reputation among them, told me that he was heartily ſorry for the bad Treatment and Sufferings I had met with, but in the main, ſays he, I am glad of it, for it is ſuch a crying Injuſtice and Iniquity,

it muſt undo them, they'll hang themſelves, give them but Rope enough: a fine Compliment to me, to hang me firſt, who was innocent, and of no diſtinguiſhed Party, that they ſhould hang themſelves afterwards. It is true, the Governor turned out all the Judges who gave Judgment for me, the whole Bench, except Judge *Manning* himſelf, and the Attorney General brought a Bill of Exceptions (See p. 318, 319.) and next Court they had a new Set of their own chuſing, who anſwered the Purpoſe effectually, by accompliſhing my Ruin. (See from p. 316, to 350.) There is no Stand can be made now-a-days againſt the Governor's Party in *Jamaica*, for they have got no Leader of any Conſequence to head them, ſo they carry their Protection about with them, and all Things before them *ſwimmingly*, according to their old ſtanding Maxim

Shew me the Man, and I'll ſhew you the Law.

UNDER theſe Preſſures and Diſtractions of Mind, ſtruggling hard to extricate myſelf from ſuch a heavy Load of Oppreſſion, and a long Series of Misfortunes and cruel Diſappointments, as you will ſee by theſe Memoirs, which no human Prudence could foreſee, or prevent, for the Burden of Debt to unfortunate and generous Souls, when it is not in their Power to ſatisfy, is the worſt of all Tyrants to the human Mind; but theſe Difficulties ſurmounted give double Pleaſure, for the true Uſe and real Value of Money is only known by the Want of it: but I do own the Experience as too dear bought at the Height of Miſery, and Poverty crowns it.

THE only Relief, Comfort, and Compoſure of Mind, I found, was Retirement into a little Hermit's Cell in the Country with my Books; as *Cicero* obſerves, *Adverſis ſolatium et perfugium prebent, ſtudia ſenectutem delectant, pernoctant nobiſcum,*

nobiſcum, *peregrinantur*, *ruſticantur*, &c. for I ſtill retain that *Vanity* to like few Companies better than my own; ſo if I cannot be ſet to my liking, I retire *within myſelf* with Pleaſure, for *ſecum eſſe*, *et ſecum vivere* is a Pleaſure that very few know or enjoy; for Solitude and Retirement are the proper Seaſons in which the Fund of Reflection is expanded: and here, indeed, I had a large and beautiful Field to go upon, for my long Abſence from the Republic of Letters, in Countries where few or none of that Republic were to be found, gave me great Pleaſure to find the Improvements that had been made in my Abſence, and digeſted into a regular, conciſe Method of Study: I found *Divinity* reduced to a regular, rational, and intelligible Syſtem, purged of its ſuperfluous Jargon and hyperbolical Myſteries, and made a Science agreeable to our Reaſon, amiable to our Underſtanding, conformable to the Laws and Religion of Nature and ſocial Virtue, in theſe ineſtimable

ineſtimable Diſcourſes of the learned and honeſt Dr. *Foſter*, in the Firſt Volume of his Works, and the whole Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory, from the *Riſe of Chriſtianity to be continued to the preſent Time*, digeſted with great Accuracy and Learning, clear Underſtanding and ſound Judgment, by the accurately learned Mr. *Bower*; wherein we may learn how the Church, by their refined Policy in contriving their ſubtle Artifices and Intrigues, in carrying on their conſummate Villainy, and executing their Deſigns, laid the Foundation for graſping at overgrown Power, and Authority, and univerſal Dominion, and Slavery, over the Minds as well as Bodies and Eſtates of Mankind; as wide as the Earth could not bound them, they extended their Power to the Kingdom of Heaven, nay, above all, that is *God*, veſted with the *Plenitude of all Power both ſpiritual and temporal*; and, which is remarkable, never one of them loſt, or parted with an Inch gained by their Predeceſſors,

Predeceſſors, conſtantly acquiring and adding to their Power and Grandeur, according to their different Abilities and Capacities, tying the Hands of their Succeſſors by the irreverſible Entail of *Divine Right*, interlarded with the moſt horrid Scenes of Cruelty, Bloodſhed and Slaughter in executing their Deſigns, which reflect Diſgrace on Human Nature itſelf, or rather on that Religion which has diveſted Human Nature of all its Humanity, and taught its Votaries to thirſt after the Blood of thoſe who profeſs any other.

Cum fueris Romæ romano vivito more,
Cum fueris alibi vivito more loci.

BUT *every Man's Reaſon is every Man's Oracle*, and he that follows that Guide in the ſearch of *Truth*, will have a much better Plea to make, whenever or wherever called to account, than he who has reſigned himſelf either deliberately or inadvertently to any Authority upon Earth;

Earth; for, "Where Myſtery begins "Religion ends," an Apophthegm of the honeſt Dr. *Foſter*, which likewiſe holds true in all Profeſſions where Myſteries begin, Profeſſions end in Impoſture and Deluſion.

PHYSIC owes no leſſer Obligation to the great and famous Dr. *Boerhaave*, who has purged the Body of all its bombaſt Jargon, chimerical Notions, and theroretical Whimſies, and reduced it into a regular, rational, and intelligible Syſtem, in his *Inſtitutes* and *Aphoriſms*, which were the Baſis of his Daily Academic Lectures, publiſhed, and explained at large by that ingenious Gentleman *Gerardus Van Swieten*, M. D. a Diſciple of his, as he had them, *viva voce*, from the learned and indefatigable Author.

THERE is nothing more certain, as we ſee by daily Experience, that the ſpontaneous Recovery of Patients, who eſcape merely by the Force of Nature, and

and even ſometimes in Oppoſition to Medicines wrongly adminiſtered, when the Effect is aſcribed to the Medicines exhibited, which is doing *ſomething*, as they call it, worſe than nothing; for if this was not the Caſe, the innumerable different Theories and Practices founded thereon, diametrically oppoſite one to another, would expire in their Infancy for Want of Succeſs, for one only can be right, which is to follow the Indications and Dictates of Nature, as the Prince of Phyſicians, *Hippocrates*, rightly obſerves, "It is Nature which cures "Diſtempers by a *Concoction of Humours*," as he terms it, which is only their Preparation for a ſubſequent Diſcharge, to throw off the morbific Matter by ſome ſpontaneous Evacuation, which is the *Criſis* much celebrated and obſerved by all Phyſicians of Knowledge both Ancient and Modern; ſo that the whole Buſineſs of a Phyſician is to watch the Motions of Nature, by no Means diſturbing her in her Operations of concocting

cocting and expelling the Humours, by attempting any Thing of Conſequence, whilſt he is only permitted to prevent, if poſſible, by a proper *Regimen*, thoſe Accidents which he foreſees by Symptoms may happen and prove dangerous, or to aſſiſt Nature, by gentle Means, to complete this critical Diſcharge when begun, provided her own Force is inſufficient for that ſalutary Purpoſe; and the only Competition between Superiority in Knowledge, amongſt Phyſicians, conſiſts in

Nature and I, againſt any Two,
Nature and I, againſt Nature and You.

To follow the Indications and Dictates of Nature, when ſhe overacts, to curb, and when ſhe underacts, to ſtimulate her, is the whole *Ars Medendi*; though it muſt be confeſſed, that ſome few are ſo happy in an unextinguiſhable Strength of Conſtitution, that they, even at laſt, miraculouſly recover at any Rate;

Rate; and if the Patient ſhould chance to die of the Doctor, as I am fully convinced a great many do, by Mal-Practice of a pompous *Farrago* of Medicines, Alexipharmics, Cephalics, Diaphoretics, Emmenagogues, Febrifuges, Galactopherics, Hypnotics, Neurotics, Panchymarocs, Quid pro quo in abundante, Odontics, Rhyptics, Sarcotics, Topics, Xeraphics, cum innumerabilibus ablis S. A. compoſitis.

BUT the only Efficacy of all this Trumpery, if not heaped one upon another, is, *Capiat cum debito regime*, in plain Engliſh, Abſtinence: *O flagris dignum facinus, quo innumeros perdunt ægros!* and whoever oppoſes this pernicious Practice, will be ſure to meet with the whole *Poſſe* of Apothecaries, in Combination with the Nurſes, to defame his Character, to demoliſh him if his Character is not above their Reach.

WHEN

WHEN the Friends come to lament over the Deceaſed, and find the Table covered with innumerable Bottles, Phials, Gallypots, Boxes, *&c.* with their proper Signatures, they readily pronounce him a great, learned, and careful Doctor, for the Patient has wanted for nothing, the Doctor has tryed every Thing, and nothing would do but *ſtark Death*; and eſpecially if there is a good Fortune left by the Deceaſed, the Heirs and Executors will not grudge the Apothecary's Bill, though it fills ſeveral Sheets of Paper. As for my own Part of the Practice of Phyſic, I have reduced the Materia Medica into a narrow Compaſs, in a very ſmall Bulk, which I find, by long Experience, anſwers all the laudable Intentions of Practice, equal to the moſt ſwelled Volumes of Diſpenſaries.

WHEN Foreigners and Strangers come to *London*, by reading the public News-Papers, they will find innumerable Advertiſements of infallible Remedies for every

there; I have tried ſome of theſe in my own Practice, and found ſome of them, when properly and judiciouſly applied, of Benefit to Mankind; but one ought to be very cautious of meddling with ſuch Stuff not knowing the Compoſition.

ASCLEPIADES was ſo ſenſible of this even in his Time, that in cracking his Jokes, he called a Conſultation of Doctors, *a Meditation on Death.*

But I am very far from derogating from that noble and honourable Profeſſion of Phyſic, when profeſſed by Gentlemen of Learning, Candour, and Underſtanding, and practiſed by honeſt Men; as in its primitive State, Phyſic, Surgery, and Pharmacy was only one Profeſſion, now-a-days it is turned into *three Trades*, that they may with the greater Facility play into one another's Hands to prey upon the Patient.

ÆSCULAPIUS, Son of *Menes*, was a Phyſician and King of *Memphis*; at the ſame Time his Brother *Mercurius*, who was a Chemiſt, reigned at *Thebes*, (from him the Preparation and Name of Mercury.) *Hippocrates* was a Prince of the Iſland *Coos*; *Galen* was of *Pergamus*, cotemporary with *Marcellus*; *Julius Cæſar* gave the Freedom of *Rome* to all who profeſſed Medicine, and *Auguſtus* exempted them from the Payment of Taxes; and the Profeſſion of Phyſic is turned into a more profitable Trade in *England*, than in all *Europe* beſide.

As for the Law, which was originally deſigned for the Support of Society, and inſtituted for the Benefit of every Individual of that Society, I have learnt by long and fatal Experience, having the Misfortune of being unhappily involved in innumerable Law-Suits in the Courſe of my Life-time, that unavoidably flowed in upon me, like a Deluge, *ſe defendendo*, in the Courſe of my Misfortunes, the

the greateſt Averſion, Curſe and Plague of my Life. That Law, as it is now practiſed, is become the greateſt Bane and Nuiſance in *England*, not from any Defect in the Laws themſelves, or Want of Juſtice, in the ſupreme Courts of Judicature; for the Laws are good, and the Benches in *England* never better filled with Judges of Capacity and unimpeachable Honour; and the ſupreme Judge * is of an unparallelled Genius and Capacity, and indefatigable in Buſineſs; but they are ſurrounded with ſuch an innumerable tumultuary Croud, the very Scum and Dregs of the Earth; that it is next thing to an Impoſſibility to get at them; for the firſt Attempt muſt be begun amongſt the lower Claſs of Attorneys, whoſe Education, Morals and Ways of Thinking are not much ſuperior to the loweſt Rank of all, the Executioners of the Law, the Bailiffs, and Jack-catch; and amongſt this Peſt of Makind, you

* Lord Chancellor *Hardwicke*.

muſt dwell perhaps ſome Years, ſpending, or rather miſpending your Time and your Money; for you muſt allow your Pockets to be pickt daily by Conſent, or elſe they'll drop you at once; and if they find that there is nothing worth picking, you are ſure to meet with the ſame Fate: Then perhaps you'll riſe a little higher, and come nearer the Tribunal, by applying to a Solicitor of Credit, as they call him, to ſtate your Caſe *fairly*, to be laid before Counſel; that is to ſay, you'll find one to pick your Pocket with a better Grace, and more Credit, by Wholeſale, and not by Retail, like the Pettyfoggers, by bringing you in a Bill of ſome Hundreds at once, Fees and Attendance on Counſel, Coach-hire and Attendance on Defendant's Solicitors, and always a great many Meetings between the Plaintiff and Defendant's Lawyers, to accommodate and compromiſe Buſineſs for the benefit of their Clients; and theſe Gentlemen never walk the Streets, but always go in Coaches, that they

they may be more expeditious in the Diſpatch of their Client's Buſineſs; and when they charge Coach-hire ten Times, I'll venture to ſay they walk nine of theſe Times on Foot; and perhaps you may at laſt arrive at the Summit of all, the Counſellors, Gentlemen learned in the Law, theſe Wranglers at the Bar, where you may hear Oratory and Rhetorick diſplayed without any other Meaning than to amuſe: Chicanry and Trick advanced under the Colour and Figure of Law and Juſtice, and always with a ſeeming fervent Zeal for the Benefit of their Clients, without one grain of Sincerity, farther than it can contribute to their own particular Intereſt: a very dry and laborious Study, which affords no Pleaſure but from the Profits ariſing from the Practice; and may be juſtly ſtiled *a bottomleſs Gulph*: but we have a pregnant Inſtance, in his preſent Majeſty of *Pruſſia*, of the great Benefits and Advantages accruing to Society, and particularly to his own Subjects, by curtailing Proceſſes at Law, and

reducing the Law into a conciſe, regular, rational aud intelligible Syſtem, and puniſhing the Litigiouſneſs of the Lawyers.

" HISTORY is, no doubt, the moſt " inſtructive and uſeful, as well as the " moſt entertaining and diverting Part " of Literature; more eſpecially when " it is not confined within the narrow " Bounds of any particular Time or " Place, but extends to the Tranſacti- " ons of all Times and Nations. Works " of this Nature, as *Cicero* rightly ob- " ſerves, carry our Knowledge beyond " the vaſt and devouring Space of num- " berleſs Years, triumph over Time, " and make us, tho' living at an im- " menſe Diſtance, in a manner Eye-wit- " neſſes to all the Events and Revolu- " tions, which have occaſioned ſuch " aſtoniſhing Changes in the World. " By theſe Records it is, that we live, " as it were, in the very Time, when " the World was created; we behold

" how

" how it was governed in its Infancy;
" when Mankind were in their primitive
" State of Innocency and Simplicity;
" we ſee the Neceſſity People were un-
" der to form themſelves into Societies,
" with the Origin, Riſe and Progreſs of
" civil Government: How Kings and
" Kingdoms have riſen, flouriſhed and
" decayed; and by what Steps they
" brought upon themſelves, their final
" Ruin and Deſtruction: By theſe
" Means we can penetrate into their
" Actions, and eaſily diſtinguiſh the
" virtuous from the vicious, by ſeeing
" what Height of Happineſs Mankind
" arrive at, under a regular good Go-
" vernment; and Abyſs of Miſery they
" are plunged into, by a wicked bad
" one. From theſe and other like
" Events occuring in Hiſtory, every
" judicious Reader may form prudent
" and unerring Rules for the Conduct
" of his Life, both in private and pub-
" lic Capacity. In ſhort, as Lord *Boling-*
" *broke* ſays, the Love of Hiſtory ſeems

" inſeparable from human Nature, be-
" cauſe it ſeems inſeparable from Self-
" Love. We are fond of preſerving,
" as far as it is in our frail Power,
" the Memory of our Adventures, of
" thoſe of our own Time, and of thoſe
" that preceded it.

" It is a Maxim founded on Truth,
" and promotive of the Happineſs of
" Mankind, that whatever is generally
" uſeful, ſhould be generally known;
" and therefore, he who propagates or
" promotes the Knowledge of the Sci-
" ences, merits the firſt Rank among
" the Benefactors to Society and the
" Republic of Letters. And as the Be-
" nefits flowing from Literature extend
" to every Individual, from the Prince
" on the Throne, to the meaneſt Inhabi-
" tant of a Cottage, it is no Wonder that
" we ſhould abound with ſuch a Mul-
" tiplicity of Authors on every Branch
" of Learning. But it is not reaſona-
" ble to ſuppoſe that every Perſon, who

" deſires

" deſires to underſtand the Sciences,
" has either Time or Capacity ſufficient
" to read the different Authors, who
" have written on that Subject, or Abi-
" lity to purchaſe the Number of Books,
" requiſite for this Purpoſe; wherefore
" we are infinitely obliged to a Society
" of Gentlemen, who have undertaken
" effectually to remove this Difficulty
" by publiſhing an *Hiſtory of all Nations*
" *whatever, both ancient and modern,*
" *from the earlieſt Account of Time, to the*
" *preſent Time*; compiled from original
" Authors with great Accuracy and
" Learning, and digeſted with ſound
" Judgment and Underſtanding, by
" indefatigable Labour; a very valua-
" ble compleat hiſtorical Library of it-
" ſelf: And we are likewiſe obliged to
" a Set of Gentlemen, who have com-
" piled and publiſhed, *a compleat Body*
" *of Arts and Sciences, as they are at*
" *preſent practiſed, taught and cultivated,*
" *in the Republic of Letters*; a very
" uſeful

" uſeful Work, intitled A New and Uni-
" verſal Dictionary."

LITERATURE is now improved and reduced into ſuch a conciſe regular Method of Study, that I'll venture to ſay that any Perſon applying himſelf to his Studies in general, or to any particular Branch of Literature, may acquire more ſolid Learning and Knowledge, in one Year, than in antient Times in ten; I am aware, that the Critics will object, that reading from Collections is only School-Boys Learning, without ſearching into the original Authors; I ſuppoſe every Gentleman who applies himſelf to his Studies, is ſo far Maſter of the original Languages, to ſatisfy his Curioſity when he pleaſes; others muſt take on Truſt of the Compiler, which they may do with Safety in the above-mentioned Works. As for your critical Learning, I confeſs my Ignorance, for I never could find out its Uſe; I have known a Gentleman purchaſe a *Cameo* at *Rome* for

ſome

ſome Hundreds of Pounds, really not worth ſo many Shillings; for I dare ſay, he knew as little of the *cui bono* as I did, only to have the honour of being reckoned among the number of the *Literati* or *Virtuoſi*, which no doubt pleaſed him more than the Money he paid for it: ſo all Parties were pleaſed; for to ſay Truth (as Mr. *Pope* rightly obſerves) whatever is very good Senſe, muſt have been common Senſe in all Times; and what we call Learning, is but the Knowledge of the Senſe of our Predeceſſors: Therefore they who ſay our Thoughts are not our own, becauſe they reſemble the Antients, may as well ſay our Faces are not our own, becauſe they are like our Fathers.

As for claſſical Learning, you'll find an elegant Deſcription of the Claſſics, and lively Images drawn of them, with all their Beauties and Excellencies, ſet forth by the learned Monſieur *Rollin*, in his Hiſtory of the *Belles Lettres*, which will

will naturally lead you to have Recourſe to the original Authors.

THESE were my Amuſement in my Solitude, which gave a greater Tranquillity and more real Satisfaction of Mind, tho' at the ſame Time under the greateſt Preſſures even for common Neceſſaries of Life, than ever I found in all the gay, luxurious, and extravagant Scenes of Life, with Money at Command; the former gives real Pleaſure, and Satisfaction, the other great Trouble and Pain; there are no Words to expreſs the Pleaſures of Retirement, only to be felt by thoſe, who have a thorough Knowledge and Experience of the World, capable of Reflexion: which puts me in mind of a beautiful Saying of *Diocleſian*, who had paſſed through all the Viciſſitudes of Fortune, *a calce ad capitem*, and met with ſo many Embroils; after he had reſigned the Empire, and retired for the laſt nine Years of his Life to *Salona*, when his Friends were importuning

tuning him to reaſſume the Government he anſwered, " Now I live, now I ſee " the Sun; if you would obſerve (ſays " he) theſe fine Pot-Herbs, which are " the Fruit of my own Induſtry and " aſſiduous Care, you would trouble " me no more with the Thoughts of " Empire."

But I made frequent Excurſions in my Studies, to *Horace* and *Swift*, *Virgil* and *Pope*, *cum multis aliis*: and greedily graſped at whatever came out new worth Notice.

The ambitious Views, lofty Deſigns, and inſatiable Deſires of a Lady ſeated on the *Spaniſh* Throne, who took the Reins of Government ſolely into her own Hands have kept all *Europe* in a continual Ferment from her Acceſſion to the Crown, I fancy, never to ſubſide till the Day of her Death; when ſhe firſt ſet out in her royal Dignity, and ſet her Foot on *Spaniſh* Ground, ſhe gave

gave a true Specimen of her aſpiring reſolute Temper.

Julio Alberoni, afterwards Cardinal, ſerved as domeſtick Chaplain to the Duke of *Vendoſme*, when he commanded the Army in *Spain* in the Year 1710, who ingratiated himſelf ſo far at Court as to become a Favorite, and was Projector and principal Negociator of the Marriage between *Philip* the Vth. of *Spain*, and this Lady *Iſabella Parmaſena*, and was ſent into *Italy* on this Errand; who, no doubt, like a prying Prieſt, informed her of all the Anecdotes of the *Spaniſh* Court, where the Princeſs *Urſini* then predomined, and had the Command of the King's Houſhold, *la Major-Domo* by Order; and of the King's Perſon by Inclination, if Fame ſpeak true; howſoever it may be, this Lady was ſent by the King to receive and conduct his new Queen *Iſabel*, now of *Spain*, *Parmaſena* to Court: They met on the Borders of *Spain*, when the Princeſs *Urſini* began

began early to find Fault with the new Queen; that ſhe was ſurprized that Her Majeſty made ſo long Journies, to travel ſo late at Night to catch Cold; and that ſhe was not dreſſed after the *Spaniſh* Mode at Court: upon which preſumption, the new Queen made no other Anſwer, than calling for the Captain of the Guard, ordered him to carry that Lady, Princeſs *Urſini*, out of the Territories of *Spain*, never to return more; and ſure enough the Orders were executed immediately, for there was the King's Sign-Manual, artfully procured by *Alberoni*, for the Execution of this Plot. All this was done before ſhe ever ſaw her betrothed Huſband, and maintained her Ground with him afterwards; for that Lady Princeſs *Urſini* never appeared more in *Spain:* the boldeſt and moſt reſolute Stroke, that perhaps ever was ſtruck by *Woman*, at her Age and Circumſtances: *A bold Stroke for a Huſband!*

So

So ſoon as ſhe was firmly fixed on her Throne, ſhe made Choice of *Alberoni* for her Prime Miniſter, and prevailed with the Pope to make him a Cardinal; which his Holineſs heartily repented of afterwards, and acknowledged himſelf circumvented and over-reached in this Choice by her Majeſty; for his Holineſs ſtrove all in his Power to undignify him, and take his Cardinal's Hat from him; but her Majeſty knew very well, that could not be done, without Leave of the Holy Ghoſt, and his Holineſs was aſhamed to acknowledge Fallibility.

I think it was in the Year 1718, when ſhe, and her Prime Miniſter ſchemed the *Sicilian* Expedition, expreſsly contrary to the Articles of the Peace of *Utrecht* 1713, which Project proved abortive only by the Interpoſition of *Great Britain*, as Guarantee of the Peace of *Utrecht*; it was nipped in the Bud, and the ſhocking Diſappointment bred a Canker in her Breaſt, which nothing but Death can extir-

extirpate; and methinks it was in the ſame Year that haughty, imperious, and tyrannical Prieſt, projected to enſlave the Lordſhip of *Biſcay*, a free independant People, who have enjoyed *fueros* of their own, for Time immemorial, unalterable like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*; which exempt them from all Tythes to the Church, and all Duties and Taxes to their Lord, who is always of their own free Election, and holds it only for Life, *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerit*; ſo that there is a free Ingreſs and Egreſs to Commerce, without the Trouble and Plague of Cuſtom-Houſe Officers; when this bold daring Prieſt, under the Cloak of his Royal Maſter *Philip* the V. of *Spain*, who was then elected and ſworn in Lord of *Biſcay*, offered and actually did ſettle, Cuſtom-Houſe Officers within the Diſtricts and Territories of that independant Lordſhip, to impoſe and levy new Taxes expreſly contrary to the Articles and Laws, which their Lord had ſworn ſtrictly and

religiously to keep inviolable: But the brave People in Vindication of their own Liberties, in Justice to themselves, rose and cut them all off to a Man, with some of the Ringleaders of their Accomplices, and Abettors; which the High-Priest himself deserved more richly than any, but I am only sorry they could not get at him; which would have prevented great Destruction to Mankind, which ensued afterwards, by the Execution of his Measures: And tho' there are no Tythes paid to the Church, in the Lordship of *Biscay*, yet as it has been a Refuge for Christians, when conquered and persecuted by the Moors; the Church has laid hold on them, *hard and fast*, for they have more Clergy-men in proportion, than any other Part of *Spain*, that I have seen, and live better by their frank Offerings, and voluntary Contributions, than others do by their Appointments.

THEN

THEN she tripled her Alliance with the House of *Bourbon*, by marrying her Daughter to the Dauphin of *France*, and her second Son without one Foot of Land, to the eldest Daughter of *France*, and planned out new Kingdoms for her Sons, to be robbed from their Neighbours; and prevailed with the Holy Ghost, to make her youngest Son, whilst a mere Child, an Arch-Bishop and Cardinal; a Burlesque on ecclesiastical Preferments, for sure the Pope could not be imposed on a second Time by her: But I will venture to say, if she had got no Sons, the Holy Ghost would have done the same Favour to one of her Dauhgters; and if she was in the Conclave herself he would certainly make her Pope, to hold it in commendam.

THIS Ferment burst into a Flame, first kindled between *Germany* and *France*, and by the artful Tricks, and assiduous cunning Chicanry of *France*, stirring and blowing the Fire, at last it set *Great Britain* in a Blaze with *Spain*, which lasted nine Years and upwards. Although I

was Witneſs to the moſt material Tranſactions of that War, I cannot ſay *what was done*, but can eaſily tell what was left undone; and ſhall only mention that *Great Britain*, has no great Reaſon to brag of her martial Atchievements in the Camp, or political Negociations in the Cabinet, but all Parties being heartily tired, and exhauſted, all *Loſers*, no *Winners*, they unanimouſly agreed on a general definitive Treaty, concluded at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in the Year 1748. Thus ended a very expenſive and unſucceſsful War to *Great Britain*, badly projected and worſe executed.

By this Time her Majeſty of *Spain*, had loſt her Conſort King *Philip* the Vth. of *Spain*, and conſequently the Reins of Government were ſhifted into the Hands of *Ferdinand* the VI. the late King's Son, by a Princeſs of *Sardinia*; and the Queen Dowager retired to her Palace of *Ildefonſo* built in her Huſband's Time, on Purpoſe for her Reception; where quite obſcured to vulgar Eyes, even

even blinded to the Court of *Madrid*, her immenſe Capacity and great Abilities, exert themſelves with a Luſtre, that ſhines through all *Europe*, and ſends its darting Rays to the utmoſt Corner of the Globe, which gives Weight to Affairs of the greateſt Conſequence; and is the ſecret inviſible Spring, by which not only the Court of *Madrid* moves, but ſets in Motion other Affairs of the greateſt Importance in *Europe*: The Ore is brought crude to the Office of *Don Joſeph de Carvajal y Lancaſter*, where it is weighed, and Judgment formed of its Specific-Gravity; afterwards it is carried to the Office of *Don Cenon de Somodevilla el Marques de la Enſenada*, where it is refined and valued; then caſt into different Moulds, Shapes, and Forms, and finely poliſhed by the beſt *French* and *Italian* Tools, adapted to its proper Uſes: All this Time ſhe appears to be a meer *Recluſe*, never to meddle in any Affairs at all, when her Ambition is unmeaſurable, of an aſpiring, reſtleſs Mind, and

her Invention always upon the Rack, which is visibly seen, and more sensibly felt, by Thousand of Thousands from the dire Effects. Till she gets her three Sons made Sovereigns, the World will never be at Rest; tho' the Race of Mankind were to be extirpated in the Execution of her Schemes.

At the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* 1748, *Don Carlos* was confirmed King of the two *Sicilies*, and *Don Philip* had the Dukedoms of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guastalla* given him; and the *Spaniards* had two more Points to push at with the *British*, the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, and the total Suspension of the *Assiento* Contract: Upon this last Article, my whole Interest and Fortune depended; my *All*, and a great deal more than my All, was at Stake: Which roused me from my Hermit's Cell, and sent me to the Court of *Madrid* in the Year 1749; to lay this my hard Case, before his *Britan-*

Britannick Majeſty's Ambaſſador at that Court, for Redreſs of Grievances.

I engaged myſelf in the Service of the South-Sea-Company, in the Year 1724, where I have ſeen that advantagious and beneficial Branch of Commerce, under all the Viciſſitudes of Fortune, in Peace and War; and I have ſuffered greatly by Ruptures with *Spain*, illegal Seizures and Reprizals directly contrary to the Articles of the *Aſſiento* Treaty, in open Violation and Breach of almoſt every Article of the *Aſſiento* Contract, then ſubſiſting in force between the two Nations, and at laſt by the total Diſſolution of the *Aſſiento* Treaty: whereas it is expreſly ſtipulated by the XL Article of that Contract, that in Caſe of a Rupture between the two Nations; the *Aſſientiſts* ſhould be allowed a Year and a Half from the Declaration of War, to recover and gather in their Debts and Effects, without Hindrance, or the leaſt Moleſtation, and their Ser-

vants are to be ſafely conveyed to his *Britannick* Majeſty's Dominions: But contrary to all publick and private Faith, upon the leaſt Surmiſe of a Rupture, the *Spaniards* ſeized and detained the whole Effects, and confined all the *Britiſh* Subjects cloſe Priſoners.

In Conformity to the expreſs Articles of the *Aſſiento* Contract, at the breaking out of the War 1740, by Advice and with Conſent of the South-Sea-Company's Agents at *Jamaica*; I hired and diſpatched a Veſſel, with a Flag of Truce from Admiral *Vernon* to *la Vera Cruz*, with the Vice-King of *Mexico*'s Domeſtics and Servants, Priſoners of War at *Jamaica*; for Exchange of the South-Sea-Company's Factors and Servants Priſoners at *la Vera Cruz*; which Veſſel was very illegally detained by the Governor of *la Vera Cruz*, without any Reaſon, or the leaſt Pretext given, for the Space of two Years, in open Violation of the Law of Nations,

in

in Breach of all Stipulations and Customs, agreed on amongſt all Nations, for a Flag of Truce; to the Diſhonour of the Nation, and my great Loſs and Ruin, as appears by the Charter-party of that Veſſel, at two hundred Pounds ſterling per Month, for the Space of two Years, where the dead Weight fell intirely on me; which reduced me to the greateſt Streights and Difficulties, and in the End totally ruined me.

When I was at the Court of *Madrid* 1749, I could eaſily perceive how the Game was a-going; the *Spaniards* puſhed at theſe two Points alternately, the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*, or the total Suſpenſion of the *Aſſiento* Contract, with as much Earneſtneſs, as if they had not been already agreed and ſettled, by the late Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*; and they ſucceeded accordingly, for by a ſubſequent Treaty concluded at *Madrid*, in the Year 1750 between their *Britannick* and Catholick Majeſties; His *Britannick* Majeſty

Majeſty in Conſideration of a Compenſation of one Hundred Thouſand Pounds ſterling payable to the Royal *Aſſiento* Company, yields to his Catholic Majeſty all that may be due to the ſaid Company for Balance of Accounts, or ariſing in any Manner whatſoever from the ſaid *Aſſiento*; ſo that the ſaid Compenſation ſhall be eſteemed and looked upon as a full and intire Satisfaction on the Part of his Catholic Majeſty, and ſhall extinguiſh from this preſent Time, for the future, and for ever, all Right, Pretenſion, or Demand, which might be formed in Conſequence of the ſaid *Aſſiento* directly or indirectly.

By this Article alone, there were 20000 Pieces of eight of my own Property irretrievably ſunk.

To the Concluſion of this Treaty, the *Aſſientiſts*, Proprietors of South Sea Stock conſented; at the ſame Time in a general Court, they drew up an Addreſs

dreſs to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed, to continue to be their Governor, and that he would be pleaſed to take their great Demand on the King of *Spain* into Conſideration, the ſame having been ceded for the Peace, and Tranquillity of the Nation for 100000 l. only; whereas it appears that there is a Balance of 1300000 l. and upwards in favour of the Company, beſides a great Demand of Tonnage, due on the annual Ships for the remaining Time of the *Aſſiento* Contract, as ſtipulated by the 16 Article of the definitive Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* 1748, for which about the Year 1732 Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, then Agent from the King of *Spain*, in *England*, offered 70000 l. for the Tonnage of each Ship, due for the Time of the *Aſſiento*.

For the King of *Spain* lays Duties on all Goods exported to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, at the rate of 11 Reals *valon* per Palm meaſured, without opening the

the Bale, Box, Cheſt, *&c.* or Regard had to the Quality of the Goods: woollen Cloths, or any other Goods of the coarſeſt Manufactory, pay the ſame Duties by Meaſurement as the fineſt Silks, Tiſſue, Gold, Silver, or Thread Lace; it is the Quantity, and not the Quality, that fetches ſuch a prodigious high Duty; and the *Engliſh* licenſed annual Ship was exempted from all Duties whatſoever by a Royal *Cedula*, which would have amounted to more Money for each Ship, than Sir *Thomas Geraldino* offered; a glorious benefit Ticket for the *Britiſh* Commerce! add to this the Duties already paid at *Madrid* for 140000 Negroes at $33\frac{1}{3}$ Dollars Duty for each Negroe, and only 70000 of them introduced, the reſt due by the *Aſſiento* Contract, beſides all the Seizures, outſtanding Debts at all the different Factories, in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*; and I will venture to aſcertain, that it amounts to a greater Sum than abovementioned by the Proprietors.

AND

AND accordingly the Court was acquainted from the Duke of *Bedford*, then one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, that his Majesty had given for Answer to the Company's Address presented to him,

" That he had obtained from the " King of *Spain*, all that lay in his " Power; so that no more could possibly " be expected."

The Produce of his Grace's Politics of his own hatching.

Howsoever it may be, the Company in a general Court accepted of the 100000 l. in full of all Accounts and Demands from *Spain*; an easy Composition, not two Shillings in the Pound; but it is still much harder upon their Servants, who are left Sufferers in their *All* to shift for themselves, without one Farthing of Recompense, or the least Expectation, from the *Spaniards* having

ing got a Notion that their King has paid in full for all Demands that can be made on them; for I have Letters lately from my Friends in *Spain*, that it is in vain to make any farther Application for the Recovery of our Effects in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* for their Anſwer, is

El Rey ha pagado por todos.

This ſhews the very Nature of the *Spaniards* in lively Colours; the more they get, the more they crave; haughty in Proſperity, abject in Adverſity, nor indeed the King of *Great Britain* could not make this *Conceſſion* to the King of *Spain*, without the Conſent of the Proprietors whoſe property it is.

The Reſtitution of *Gibraltar* was too bold a Stroke, as it is the *Golden-Calf* of the Populace; it would have ſet the whole *Britiſh* Nation in an Uproar, whereas the Proprietors of the *Aſſiento* Contract, South Sea Stock Holders tame-

tamely acquieſced in giving up their Property, not knowing the value of the Jewel they poſſeſſed, and what equivalent the Nation has got in lieu of it, I ſhall not preſume to determine.

In the Beginning of the War 1740, there was a ſmall Pamphlet publiſhed at *Madrid* by Authority entitled,

Cotejo
de la Conducta
de S. M.
con
la de el Rey
Britannico.

ſetting forth his Catholick Majeſty's Conduct, Pretenſions and Complaints with the King of *Great-Britain*. Among a great many other Complaints there is a remarkable Letter from his Majeſty King *George* the Iſt of *Great-Britain*, dated the 12 of June 1721, to his Catholick Majeſty

———*por lo que mira á la reſtitucion de Gibraltar, promentiendole, que me valdré, de la primera favorable Occaſion para reglar eſte articulo con intervencion de mi Parlamento* * * * * *

Which the chicaning Court of *Spain*, wanted to look upon as an abſolute Promiſe from his *Britannick* Majeſty for the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*, whereas his Majeſty of glorious Memory, only ſays that he will take the firſt favourable Opportunity to lay this Article before his Parliament to be regulated: The *Spaniſh* Miniſtry do not conſider, that the King of *Great Britain*, as he is great, ſo he is good and juſt; and will not, nor indeed cannot make any Conceſſion of Property, without the Advice and Conſent of his Parliament.

After ſo many Year ſtruggles and Efforts to extricate myſelf from theſe unſurmountable Difficulties, all my Hopes of recovering my Effects, and getting

getting full Satisfaction for my juſt Demands on the *Spaniards*, as ſtipulated by the 16th Article of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* 1748, were fruſtrated and intirely cut off by a ſubſequent Treaty, concluded at *Madrid*, Octr. 5 1750, between their *Britannick* and Catholick Majeſties, where, by the 2d Article his *Britannick* Majeſty diſſolves the *Aſſiento* Contract, and cancels all Accounts and Demands on his Catholick Majeſty: Thus by a national Turn of Politics was I ſtripped at once of a very conſiderable Fortune, nine Thouſand Pounds and upwards, in Effects and outſtanding Debts, ſeized and detained by the *Spaniards*, the Acquiſition of thirty Years Labour, Riſk, and Fatigue, in the Service of my King and Country; and left quite deſtitute of Money, and conſequently of Friends. Tho' the Demands on me did not amount to one third Part of that Sum, yet as the Clouds thickned, ſo in Proportion did the impatient Importunities of my Creditors,

which obliged me to ſhelter myſelf under the Wings of an Act of Parliament of the twenty-firſt Year of his preſent Majeſty *George* the ſecond, entitled,

An Act for Relief of inſolvent Debtors.

And in the Year 1750, I took the Benefit of that Act, and then threw myſelf intirely on the Mercy, Juſtice, and Bounty of my moſt gracious Sovereign, the King and his Miniſtry, for Redreſs of my Grievances. Sovereign Princes are the Source of Honour, Juſtice, and Mercy; but the great Difficulty lies in getting at that Source, for I am well apprized, that miniſterial Government carries no Bowels of Compaſſion, or Regard to Juſtice, farther than is ſubſervient to their own Views and Deſigns, whenever they ſwerve from this general Rule, the Miniſters may be truly called as *Good* as *Great*.

BUT

BUT whatever Diſtreſſes I am reduced to on this Account, I humbly acquieſce, hoping it may prove to the Advantage of the Nation in general, for in all Places, and upon all Occaſions, from my very Infancy, I have ſtrenuouſly exerted myſelf to the utmoſt of my Abilities, and Power, with a hearty Zeal and ſincere Attachment for the Honour and Intereſt of my King and Country, as by Law eſtabliſhed in the moſt illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, not from any intereſted Views or Deſigns, but merely from my own fixed fundamental Principles.

WHEN I was reduced to theſe my greateſt Diſtreſſes, paſt Imagination or my Expreſſion; for indeed I had ſurvived myſelf greatly, the Slights, Inſults, and Upbraidings I daily met with were inſufferable, the conſtant Concomitants of Poverty, the Scorn and Butt of the ſordid, avaritious, and greedy; beware of the greedy, and the needy, ſays the Miſer, but eſpecially the needy: With

Variety of Scenes during the Time that I was within the Rules of the Court of King's Bench, there was the oddeſt Contraſt that perhaps ever happened in Life; I viſited and converſed with a King, *(Theodore* of *Corſica)* in the ſame Circumſtances with myſelf, and I had an Opportunity from Time to Time, of having the Honour of playing at Cards with a Dutcheſs, whilſt one of the Lord Juſtices of *Great Britain*, attended and ſnuffed the Candles for us. But what was ſtill more ſhocking to me, to be ſhunned and deſpiſed by thoſe I had generouſly aſſiſted in their Wants, and extricated them from their Misfortunes, in their greateſt Diſtreſs, particularly one whom I had ſet fairly above the World; for my own Sake more than his I will not expoſe. Why don't you apply to your Relations, ſays he, I have poor Relations of my own? at the ſame Time, he well knew, that none of his Relations would aſſiſt him in his Diſtreſs: Which at laſt I was perſuaded with ſome Reluctance.

luctance to try; for no Man ſuffers ſo much by bad Fortune, as he who has been deceived by good.

As the Law of Nature dictates, the Rules of Society require and the Art of Policy oblige Relations to aſſiſt one another, more eſpecially in Diſtreſs; and by my Birth, I was related to ſome of the beſt, I mean moſt antient, and by Intermarriages allied with a great many of the moſt conſiderable Families in North *Britain*, and ſome of them with large Fortunes for that Country. I drew up my *Caſe* and ſtated it *fairly*, and repreſented to them in lively Colours, and moving Terms, the deplorable Circumſtances I was plunged into, not from any Miſconduct or Fault of my own; but by a national Turn of Politics, and Misfortunes, which no human Prudence could foreſee or prevent; and that a ſmall Aſſiſtance from them, would extricate me and put me above the World again, for what little Patrimony my

Father had left me by *Will* was embezzelled among them, for I had never touched a Farthing of it: no doubt my Father's Eſtate was liable for it, if I had gone to a Proſecution at Law, for he died in good Circumſtances enough: but whilſt I was in Circumſtances, I never thought it worth while, to enquire after ſuch Trifles; and when Want obliged me to mention it, neither Juſtice, Love, Compaſſion, or Charity, could move them to part from one Shilling for my Relief; ſeveral of them indeed promiſed to join, but none performed as yet, except one Gentleman, who has ſhewed me ſome Countenance and Favour: They ſhuffled it off from one to another 'till dropt intirely, not ſo much as to anſwer my Letters, tho' wrote in the moſt preſſing Terms only for an Anſwer; and I was robbed of the Gleanings of my Fortune, by a ſordid, avaritious, mean-ſpirited Fellow, in whom I confided as a near Relation, whoſe Father, my Brother, and his whole Family I had

had ſaved from the Brink of Ruin, by an Act of Generoſity, which for my own Sake I forbear mentioning; yet in my greateſt Diſtreſs, this Fellow abſolutely refuſed to ſupply me with two Guineas, tho' he has above an Hundred Pounds in Caſh in his Hands which no ways belong to him; and indeed the Nature of the Beaſt is ſuch, that if one Shilling would keep me from ſtarving he would not part from it *willingly*, for which barbarous Treatment and Ingratitude, I do publickly declare, that I deſign to expoſe him, and make him in Juſtice refund the Money he ſo illegally detains; for I can truly ſay of all the Members of Chriſtian Society, my Relations have been the leaſt friendly to me, for I'll venture to ſay had the like unforeſeen Misfortunes happened to me in the moſt barbarous uncivilized Country that I have ſeen, (and I have travelled moſt Part of this Globe,) I ſhould have met with more Compaſſion, Aſſiſtance, and Relief, than from my Relations,

which I impute to a narrow Way of Thinking, for Want of their knowing the World.

In theſe Circumſtances, without Hopes of Recovery, Death would have been a very welcome Gueſt to me, for under theſe Diſtractions and Preſſure of Mind, I was at more Pains to get rid of Life, than ever I was to ſave it, for the Diſeaſes of the Mind are infinitely more ſevere, afflicting, and conſuming than thoſe of the Body, for I may ſafely ſay that my Conſtitution, in Strength of Mind and Body, in theſe my Years of Vexation, were worn out ten Times in Proportion to any other Stage of my Life, for whenever urgent Neceſſities drive one to low Shifts, it cuts to the very Soul of a Man of Spirit, but——

Neceſſity has no Law.

It is true, that Nature ſtruggles hard againſt its own Diſſolution. Reſignation of

of Life may indeed be made very eaſy by the Force of Reaſon, but parting with it by Compulſion is a hard Taſk, and requires great Reſolution, or very ſtrong Paſſion; theſe violent Agitations of the Mind, occaſion unconnected Ideas whilſt we are aſleep, called *Dreams*, the only Superſtition that ever I took any Notice of, handed down to us by the *Antients*, for I can verily ſay, that there never happened to me any very remarkable Paſſage in Life, but what was previouſly prognoſticated to me in a *Dream*.

Methought I found myſelf on the Top of a high Hill, with a ſteep Precipice of all Sides, quite deſtitute of all Neceſſaries of Life, in View of a plentiful Valley below, with my Acquaintances and Friends walking within my Sight and Hearing. I called frequently to them for Relief; but no Anſwer made! where I continued helpleſs, naked, and ſtarved; *now* I fancied

I had got miraculously down the Precipice, *then* I found myself chained to the very Summit.

Thus I waked in agonizing Pain, for in Reality I was drove to Despair; but ——*nil desperandum.*

" *Patience* that baffled Fortune's utmost Rage,
" High minded *Hope*, which at the lowest Ebb;
" When *Brennus* conquered, and when *Cannæ* bled,
" The bravest Impulse felt and scorn'd Despair.
" Hence Moderation a new Conquest gained, *&c.*

Thompson.

Which naturally leads me into the following Enquiries and Reflexions.
What are the Ties of Nature or Blood?
What are the Rules of Society?
What is the Art of Policy?

IF

IF I had died in the Courſe of twenty Years running, before the Misfortunes happened to me, worth Ten, or perhaps, Fifteen thouſand Pounds, who are my Heirs at Law? Theſe who would not advance me a Guinea to keep me from Starving, nor give me the leaſt Aſſiſtance to recover and retrieve my loſt Fortune; or thoſe who aſſiſted and ſupplied me in my Wants, and gave me their Countenance and Favour, to recover my Loſſes and retrieve my Misfortunes? Whenever I die, and whatever I am worth, Who are my Heirs in Equity and Gratitude? For to relieve the diſtreſſed, and extricate them from Difficulties, that make Life burdenſome to them, is a much better Office than giving them Life, by bringing them into the World.

POLICY directs, for the better Government of ourſelves and Intereſt, that we enter into Society, and ſubject ourſelves to the Laws of that Society for the Preſervation

ſervation of our Intereſt and reciprocal Advantages accruing to one another from the Obſervation of theſe Rules; and Relations have the firſt and neareſt Call to enter into this Compact in Society among themſelves, which greatly contributes to the Advantage of the Community in general, and the Intereſt of every Individual in particular; the only pathognomonic Sign we have to diſtinguiſh ourſelves from the brutal, or what is called the irrational Part of the Creation, and even in this Rationality, I am afraid, we are equalled, if not outdone, by the induſtrious Bees in their Oeconomy and Government; and the moſt ſavage ferocious Animal upon Earth, induſtriouſly takes Care to provide for the *Dam*, in bringing forth, and the young ones till they are able to provide for themſelves, and then *a la mode d' Ecoſſe*, will drive them off to ſhift for themſelves, and take no farther Notice of them, whatever unlucky Accident may befal them in Life: and indeed,

deed, these natural Ties of Consanguinity being once untied, the Counterpart of the Covenant ceases of Course. But to sum up the whole, the Labyrinth of Difficulties and Abyss of Distresses, by the Viscissitudes of Fortune, that I have passed through in the Course of Life, by Reflection, are incomprehensible; even to myself, not to be described by Words, only known by Events; and the Causes from whence they proceeded, I shall not presume to determine, but leave it to the superior Judgment of the candid and generous Reader.

I heartily beg Pardon of the World, if I have offended them by telling the *Truth*, particularly of my native Country, if by this last Observation I bear hard upon them, or am in the least unjust; for I tell it feelingly from my own Experience, and can give some Hundred more Examples to confirm it; but there is no general Rule without an Exception; and this is the real Cause that

that the *Scots* are diſperſed all over the habitable Part of the World, and when they meet together Abroad, are fond of one another, as Brothers in Diſtreſs: but all this does not obliterate the *Dulcis amor Patriæ*, ſo natural to all Mankind, only to me it makes it a little more extenſive, and reckon myſelf a Native of the Iſland of *Great-Britain*, where I have found Parents, Brothers, Siſters, and all other Degrees of Relations, ſome of them indeed *Scotſmen*, who by ſeeing the World in different Shapes, enlarge their Way of thinking greatly above thoſe at Home; and at all Times and in all Places, I am ready and willing to part with the laſt Drop of my Blood, and Penny in my Purſe, in their Service; and thank God that I was born of a Country preferable to all others that I have ſeen or read of.

THEREFORE my laſt Will and Teſtament is *&c.*

BUT

BUT you may see by what Ways and Means, I have been disappointed of my *Mexican* Dollars, so I cannot let you have my last Will and Testament as yet; but Mr. *Bickerstaffe*, who was the first Publisher of these Memoirs, promised to let you have the CREED; now I will give it you.

I BELIEVE

I BELIEVE in the Unity of God, the Almighty Author of Nature, Creator and ſole Governor of the whole Univerſe, celeſtial and terreſtrial, and *all that is therein*; and that there is no Certainty in any Religion but

The Religion of Nature.

I BELIEVE all Morality conſiſts in doing as you would be done by; according to the eternal and invariable Rule of Right and Wrong: an infallible Guide for us.

I BELIEVE all Actions in human Life proceed from *Self-Love.*

ALL the ſame, whether Sinner it, or Saint it;
Nothing more ſure than that all Mankind want it.

Gratification of Self-Love.

Epicharmion illud teneto
Nervos atque Artus eſſe ſapientiæ
Non temere nec iimide credere.

APPENDIX.

NUMB. I. Page 19.

Extract of a Letter, from Jamaica, *to his Friend, a Member of Parliament, in* London.

SIR,

SINCE my laſt, of *March* the 6th, 1742, by his Majeſty's Ship *Prince Frederick*, prognoſticating the Fate of this laſt Expedition to *Panama*, juſt ſuch another ſcandalous one as the *Cuba* Expedition, in *July*, 1741, which I hope, for ſaving the Honour of our Country, will be ſunk in Oblivion, ſo as never to enter into the Annals of *Britiſh* Hiſtory.

I NOW begin to reckon myſelf a ſort of a Prophet, and have good Authority

for my Prophecy; for the *Bible* ſays, (and who does not believe the *Bible?*) *A Houſe divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand.* I ſhall at preſent only aſſure you, without entering into Particulars, that the whole *Farce* is ſhamefully at an End in this Part of the World; and, whatever is doing, or may be done in *Europe*, I know not, I cannot help ſaying, that it has made a moſt ſcandalous Exit here, having only ſettled a little, ſhitten, uninhabited Iſland, off the Bay of *Honduras*, called *Rattan*; an Enterprize infinitely more ridiculous, than *Sancho*'s Iſland of *Barataria*. At the ſame time, I muſt own, that the only Thing, I moſt heartily regret, was the Diſhonour accruing to the *Britiſh* Nation, from ſo many unſucceſsful Attempts, entirely owing to their own bad Conduct, and not want of Bravery in the Men; incredible! tho' certain! whether from mere Ignorance, or ſome Deſign, greatly ſurpaſſes my Underſtanding to fathom; therefore leave it to Time to diſcover: For I am of Sir *Andrew Freeport*'s Opinion, That it is ſtupid and barbarous to extend

Dominion

Dominion by Arms, especially in a trading Country, when true Power is only to be got by encouraging *Trade*, *Arts* and *Industry*.

Great Britain wants no Castles but floating ones: Tho' I must acknowledge, when they took the Castles in the Harbour of *Cartagena*, had they garrison'd them with 800 or 1000 Men, which they could then have easily spared, and kept two *Line-of-battle* Ships always in the Harbour, reliev'd from time to time, with proper Provisions, *&c.* for the Garrison, from *Jamaica*; (which was a sufficient Force for any Attack the *Spaniards* could have raised against them at that time) by these Means they would have had an entire Command of the Towns of *Cartagena* and *Porto-bello*, and consequently of all the Trade of those inland Countries, exclusive of all Nations whatever, during the War; and, on a Peace with *Spain*, received a Consideration for delivering them up, equivalent to the Expences of the whole War in the *West-Indies:* But all

is well, that Ends well. In the mean Time I am,

SIR,

Jamaica, Ann. Dom. 1742.

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

POSTSCRIPT.

I CAN'T ſlip this Opportunity of acquainting you, that ſome Time ago there was a grand Council of War about this *Baratarian* Expedition; preſent the Generals *Wentworth* and *Blackney*, Governour *Trelawny*, the Admirals *Vernon* and Sir *Chaloner Ogle*; and they were unanimous in their Opinion, to take Poſſeſſion and maintain the Iſland of *Rattan*: But after the Generals *Wentworth* and *Blackney* were gone, there was ſome Diſpute about *impreſſing the Seamen*; upon which aroſe ſome *Billingſgate* Words unbecoming Gentlemen, with an Attempt of drawing Swords: The two Combatants were Governour

vernour *Trelawny* and Sir *Chaloner Ogle*. *No Blood ſhed!*

SCENE, *The King's Houſe.*

NUMB. II. Page 163.

To His Moſt Excellent Majeſty, the King, GOVERNOUR, *and the* Honourable Court *of* DIRECTORS, *of the* Royal Aſſiento Company, *the humble Memorial of* James Houſtoun, *M. D.*

Sheweth,

THAT your *Memorialiſt* has had the Honour of ſerving this Honourable Company ſince the Year 1724, and has ſeen it under all the Viciſſitudes of Fortune, in *Peace* and *War*; wherefore he thinks it his indiſpenſable Duty, as your oldeſt Servant abroad, to lay before *your Majeſty*, and the *Honourable Court of Directors*, the State of the Company's Trade abroad, with the Cauſes of its Decay; or total Ruin, if not timely prevented, to the great Diſadvantage and irretrievable Loſs of

of national Commerce in general, and the *Assiento Trade* in particular.

THE first and principal Cause is, the *open Violation* of publick Faith, in the Execution of Treaties, between the two Nations: For, by the very first Article of the *Assiento Contract*, her *Britannick* Majesty does oblige herself by the Persons whom she shall appoint, "To introduce "144,000 *Negroes (Piezas de India)* in- "to *Spanish America*, within the Space "of *thirty* Years, to begin on the first of "*May*, 1713."

NOW the *Company* has paid the Duty for the whole Number at the Court of *Madrid*, and not introduced one half of that Number, for the Time past, after the Proportion of 4800 *per Annum*. And, in Case of Interruption, by a War between the two Crowns, there is a reasonable Time allowed for the Introduction of the whole Number in Time of Peace, *Duty* free without doubt, till the whole Number shall be compleated.

BY

BY the XLth Article of the *Aſſiento Contract*, " in caſe of War between the two " Crowns, the Company are to have a " *Year* and a *half* to withdraw their Ef- " fects from *Spain* and the *Indies:*" But this was not at all obſerved; they were not allowed a *Day* and a *half*; nay, I may truly ſay, not an *Hour* and a *half:* For upon the firſt Notice of a Rupture, the *Company*'s Effects were immediately ſeized, and, which was worſe, never returned upon a Peace, though ſtipulated and ordered by Treaty; which I am poſitive of, on my certain Knowledge, has been the Caſe in theſe three laſt Ruptures with *Spain.*

BY the XLIſt Article, " his *Catholick* " Majeſty diſpenſes, in favour of this *Aſſi-* " *ento*, with all Laws, *&c.* contrary here- " unto for 30 Years; and allows *three* " Years more for gathering in their Debts, " *&c.*" Whereas, upon the firſt Notice of a Rupture, he publiſhes an Edict, upon the ſevereſt Penalties, to deliver up all Goods

Goods and Effects belonging to the *British*, into his Custody.

THE XIVth Article of the *Assiento* "strictly forbids all *Vice Roys*, Governours, "*&c.* from detaining the Ships or Vessels "of this *Assiento*, upon any Pretence "whatever, but shall give their Aid "and Assistance in their Release." This Article has been frequently broke through, (of which I have sufficient Proofs) which as yet have remained without any Redress.

BY Article XV. "Neither shall the said "*Vice Roys*, Governours, *&c.* lay an Em-"bargo on, or seize any of the Effects "belonging to this *Assiento*, nor search the "Houses of the Factors, except on Proof "of some unlawful Importation; and "then not without the Concurrence of "the *Judge Conservator*." This Article has been likewise infringed, by laying an Embargo on the *Company*'s Effects at Exportation, in Time of profound Peace, at *Cartagena*, in the Years 1732, 1733, and with-

without the leaſt Reaſon given for ſo doing, and the *Company*'s Veſſels detained in Harbour for ſome Months, which I was Eye-witneſs to, without ſo much as ſaying, Why? or, Wherefore?

BY Article XIX. "His *Catholick* Ma-"jeſty undertakes, upon his Faith and "Royal Word, to cauſe all the Articles "of the *Aſſiento* to be obſerved." I do aſſert, that his *Catholick* Majeſty's *Faith* and *Royal Word* has been forfeited in almoſt every Article of the *Aſſiento*.

AND the only Remedy is, at the very firſt Breach, to make *Reprizals* immediately, and then complain and redreſs full-handed: There's no other Way of dealing with a dilatory, chicaning *Spaniſh* Court in *Europe*, and an abſolute *Spaniſh* Governour in the *Indies*, to the laſt Degree countenanced by his Court, who not only exerciſes that Power over their own People, but even over the *Company*'s Servants; who ought to live amongſt them without Controul; and there's no convincing them of

of their pernicious and audacious Errors, ſo as to expect any Redreſs for Injuries or Grievances, but by the ultimate and prevailing Argument, *Powder* and *Shot*; which, if well applied, ſeldom or never fails: And,

Of two Evils, we ought to choſe the leaſt.

ANOTHER, and none of the leaſt Cauſes, are the *Diviſions* amongſt ourſelves, as well at Home as Abroad: The Bane of all *Britons!*

Divide & Impera!

And, for ought I can learn, this is a Diſeaſe without a Remedy at preſent; but, if there is any at all, it conſiſts in the right Choice of their Servants, who ought to be Men of Underſtanding and Experience; for, if they know Men, they will ſoon come to know Things: The *Myſtery* does not lie in the *Aſſiento Trade* itſelf, but in the People who are concerned in the Management of it, as well at Home as Abroad.

BUT

BUT what was moſt detrimental to the Commerce of *Great Britain* in general, and the moſt fatal Blow that ever was given to the *Aſſiento Trade* in particular, which proved the Ruin of the Trade of the Iſland of *Jamaica*, was a *Contract*, made during the War, by Meſſieurs *Manning and Company*, of the Iſland of *Jamaica*, with the *Vice King* of the Kingdom of *New Granada*, in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, " to ſupply his Dominions, " during the War with *Negroes*, &c." which was executed by the Mediation of the *French*; notwithſtanding the King of *Great Britain*, in his Declaration of War againſt the *French* King, has ſtrictly forbidden " all his Subjects, to have " any Communication or Correſpondence " whatever with the *French* King's Sub- " jects."

THIS Contract was executed thus; there was a *French* Veſſel or more, with *French* Commanders, lying at the grand *Barru*, within ten Leagues of *Cartagena*, who receiv'd the Negroes, ſent from *Jamaica*, in his

own

own Name, then hoiſted *French* Colours on board all the Veſſels belonging to their Company, and ſo ſailed into the Harbour of *Cartagena* altogether; and under this Pretext they introduced large Quantities of Proviſions of all Sorts, *&c.* And as, no doubt, the *Vice King* felt the Sweets of it, he encouraged them only, and diſcouraged, nay, ſtrictly forbid, all Manner of Trade with every body elſe, more particularly the *Engliſh*; and he erected a *Gallows* before his Palace, and ſwore a moſt ſolemn Oath,

Por la Leche de la ſantiſſima Virgin,

that the firſt *Spaniard*, he catched trading with the *Engliſh*, he ſhould be hanged upon that Gallows, without Benefit of the Clergy. Notwithſtanding they contracted to ſell their *Negroes* at an under Rate, 125 Pieces of Eight *per Head*, which was a great deal leſs than they could buy and tranſport them for from *Jamaica*, allowing for Mortality, *&c.* and proved very pernicious to the Commerce of *Great Britain*, and the Trade of *Jamaica*

maica in particular; yet it was very beneficial for those concerned in the *Contract*, as it gave them an Opportunity of introducing large Quantities of Provisions, Prize-goods, *&c.* whilst our *British* Manufactures lay rotting at *Jamaica*.

BUT the *Vice King* reaped the greatest Benefit of all; for he marked those very *Negroes* with the King's Mark, and gave them a regular *Despacho*, as introduced by the *Assiento*, (though brought in open Violation of the whole *Assiento Contract*) and sold them to the King of *Spain*'s Subjects, the Inhabitants of the Place, at the same Rate the *Assiento* Company sold their *Negroes* from 280 to 300 Pieces of Eight *per Head*; so that, at least, he put into *his own Pocket* 150 Pieces of Eight by each *Negroe*, and so of all other Goods in Proportion; instead of its being returned by *British* Subjects to their Mother Country in ready Cash, it now remained in Balance to the *French* and *Spaniards*; which is so much dead Loss to our Mother Coun-

try

try in general, as Subjects of his *Britannick* Majesty.

BESIDES all this, the Enemy were furnished with large Quantities of Provisions at very low Prices; *Flour* at seven Pieces of Eight and a half *per Barrel*, and other Provisions as cheap in Proportion; which enabled them to fit out *Privateers*, to destroy our own Trade, which we have had a late fatal Instance of, five of our trading Sloops, or Vessels, being all taken at once, worth at least 100,000 *l. Sterling* prime cost; whilst those large Exportations greatly raised the Price of Provisions at *Jamaica*, which must prove the Ruin of many here; and *London* will feel the dead Weight of all at last. And now I must observe, if they are not supplied with *Negroes* and Provisions by the *English*, I am sure there is no Country can supply them; and to *prevent the digging of their Mines*, would be effectually depriving them of the principal Sinews of War, *Cash*.

YOUR *Memorialist* humbly begs leave

to

to lay these Matters of Facts at your Royal Feet, not by way of Complaint, but Information; being very sensible, that, after *your Majesty* had used all the persuasive Arguments, that could possibly be used, in Honour and Justice to your injured Kingdoms, to prevent the great Effusion of Blood, and Expence of immense Treasure, in destructive War, Your Majesty was absolutely forced to have recourse to the *Ultima Ratio Regum*, to demand and procure just and ample Satisfaction for all Injuries done: Wherefore your *Memorialist* with all your Majesty's good Subjects, who are not Enemies to themselves, and their Country, most earnestly pray for Success to your Majesty's Arms by Sea and Land, till you make your Enemies, and consequently the Enemies of *Great Britain*, your *Foot-stool*: Which particularly is the most fervent Prayer of,

Your MAJESTY's
Most Loyal, faithful Subject, and
Most obedient, humble Servant,
JAMES HOUSTOUN.

Jamaica, An. Dom. 1745.

THESE Affairs were brought upon the Carpet before the *Assembly* in *Jamaica*, but they set out on a very wrong Footing, by accusing one Don *Pedro de Estrada*, whom Mr. *Manning* at that Time entertained in his House, of being a Spy and an Informer, amongst the *Spaniards*, a Matter impossible to be proved before any Court of Judicature, unless they had intercepted his Letters, or informed one against another. This Don *Pedro de Estrada*, a *Frenchman* by Birth, but passed for a *Spaniard*, was one who belonged to the *New Assiento Company*, established at the *Havanna*, a very proper Instrument for the *French* and *Spaniards* to make use of to serve their own Purposes.

IF they had gone rightly to work, the Charge ought to have lain on the Delivery of those *contraband Goods*, and the Proof for it, the *French* and *Spaniards* Receipts for them, which must have appeared in their Accounts, and so would have been easily proved; though it might have carried along with it the Sting of the ignominious

minious Name of an *Informer*, or *Betrayer* of *Confiança*, which is prohibited to them under a moſt ſevere Penalty. And his *Catholick* Majeſty himſelf, in his Edicts that he publiſhes for ſeizing of *contraband Goods*, ſays, *La quinta parte al vil Denunciader*, " the fifth Part of the Seizure " I give to the *villainous Informer*." Who would then execute that *villainous Office*? But Proofs are of little or no Validity, when the *great Lord* of *Jamaica* appears; there his *Numbers* prevail greatly?

NUMB. III. Page 193.

To the honourable Sir JOHN EYLES, *Knt. and Bart.* SUB-GOVERNOR *of the* South-Sea Company.

Hon. Sir,

EVEN at this Diſtance, we muſt be ſenſible of the great Load of Buſineſs you have upon your Hands, which makes me forbear troubling you ſo often as my Inclination and Duty lead me, to

acknowledge the many Obligations I lie under to you.

ESTEEM is commonly judged by the *Warmth of Expreſſion*, when they have it not in their Power to ſhew it by *Actions*. I may be deficient through Faintneſs of Expreſſion, but the greateſt Pleaſure I deſire on Earth is an Opportunity of trying my Zeal and Gratitude in your Service; at the Time I am ſenſible, that all Acknowledgments of this kind muſt be ungrateful to a Gentleman, who, by his innate Generoſity, ſeems to *receive* the Obligations *he confers*.

WE are under ſome Concern here, leſt the vexatious Troubles, and ungrateful Returns you daily meet with, ſhould juſtly provoke you to ſhake off the Government of the *South-Sea* Company. I only beg leave to obſerve, the more *Malice* and *Envy* exert themſelves, the brighter will *Honour* and *Integrity* ſhine. But, if ſuch a Misfortune ſhould happen to the Company, I anſwer for myſelf in particular,

as the meaneſt of their Servants, and I dare likewiſe ſay for their principal ones here, inſtead of a Pleaſure, it will be a great Pain to continue in their Service; for they'll ſoon find all go to ruin. To ſay more perhaps might be uneaſy to you, and to ſay leſs would be unjuſt in him, who is, with the utmoſt Gratitude and Reſpect,

Cartagena, in America, Feb. 4, 1733.

Sir, Your moſt obliged and Obedient, humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

NUMB. IV. Page 205.

To the honourable Court of DIRECTORS *of the* South-Sea *Company.*

Gentlemen,

AS I have not the Honour to be known to this honourable *Court of*

Directors, nor the Pleaſure of being perſonally acquainted with any one Gentleman of the *Direction*, I preſume to beg Leave, Gentlemen, to give you a ſhort Detail of my Story, and humbly pray you to take my Caſe under your Conſideration, as I depend entirely on your Juſtice, Honour, and Generoſity.

In the Year 1724, by ample Certificates and Recommendations, from the Preſident and other Members of the College of *Phyſicians*, and ſome of the moſt eminent Surgeons in *London*, the then *honourable Court of Directors* were pleaſed to appoint me *Surgeon* to the *honourable Company*'s Factory at *Cartagena*.

I have been continued in the Service, by all the ſucceeding *Courts of Directors*, without the leaſt Blemiſh in my Character, and have behaved myſelf agreeable to my Station in all Reſpects, as appears by the Approbation of all the honourable Company's Servants, who ſerved as my Cotemporaries abroad.

I HAVE been at great Expences in fitting myſelf out twice (now thrice) in the honourable *South-Sea Company*'s Service, and returning Home; and ſuſtained great Loſſes by the many *Repriſalias*, and ſince; of which I only beg Leave to mention one Inſtance: I covenanted with the *honourable Company*, by Counter-covenants with the *honourable Court of Directors*, to furniſh your Factory at *Cartagena* with all proper Medicines for 200 Pieces of Eight *per Annum*, which is much cheaper than is paid for any one of the reſt of the Factories; and accordingly I ſupplied them with the freſheſt and beſt Medicines from *London*, and had juſt wrote for a new Supply for the Uſe of the Factory, to the Value of 200 *lb. Sterling* and upwards, when I was recalled; ſo that they now lie periſhing at *Jamaica* to my great Loſs.

AND as my Bread depends entirely on the Credit and Reputation I have gained in my Profeſſion, for I know no underhand Dealings, I have not meddled with any Buſineſs, that I cannot publickly

avow to the whole World, and this *honourable Company*, who have reaped the Benefit of my Labour; for, out of 4000 *Negroes*, in three Year's Time, with the small Pox, and several other epidemical Distempers amongst them we have lost but thirty-six: The *Spaniards* have likewise reaped the Benefit of my Profession as appears by a Letter from the Bishop of *Cartagena*, in the Name of the whole Inhabitants there, to his Excellency the *Conde* of *Montijo*, his *Catholick* Majesty's Ambassador in *London*.

AFTER all these my Sufferings, I must own, Gentlemen, I think it not a little hard, to be turned out of my Employ, without the least Reason, previous Notice, or Warning given; which is always given to the meanest Domestick Servant; and, after ten Years faithful Service, to find myself in worse Circumstances than the Day I engaged in the *Company*'s Service.

WHEREFORE I hope, Gentlemen, that

that you'll be pleaſed to favour me with your Vote and Intereſt, for the Payment of my Sallary due, from the 20th of *June*, 1729, to the 21ſt of *March*, 1730, yet unpayed; notwithſtanding all the Company's Servants, upon the ſame Footing and Eſtabliſhment with me, have been paid for that Time, and I made the only Exception. And I humbly hope for your farther Favour, in ſome Allowance for my Expences in coming Home, in Obedience to your Orders; and alſo, that you will be pleaſed to continue me in the *Honourable Company*'s Service to the Vacancy at *la Vera Craz*, where I am ready and willing to ſerve the Honourable Company, till I am able to recover my Effects: And am, with all Submiſſion and Reſpect,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt obedient, and

Faithful humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

NUMB.

NUMB. V. Page 319.

On a Bill of Exceptions.

THE Exceptions ought to be put in Writing, *ſedente Curiâ*, in the Preſence of the Judge who tried the Cauſe, and ſigned by the Counſel on each Side; then the Bill muſt be drawn up, and tendered to the Judge that tried the Cauſe, in order to be ſealed by him when ſigned: There goes out a *ſcire Facias*, to the ſame Judge, *ad cognoſcendum Scriptum*, and that is made Part of the Record; and the Return of the Judge, with the Bill itſelf, muſt be entered on the Iſſue-Roll; and, if a *Writ of Error* be brought, it is to be returned as Part of the Record.

THERE was not one of theſe Articles legally performed, yet it paſſed *pro re natâ*: They went on, as you ſee in the Page above ſignified.

NUMB.

NUMB. VI. Page 325.

For THOMAS HILL, *Esq*; *Counsellor at Law.*

SIR,

IN Obedience to a Commission, from the grand Court of Judicature, appointing Messieurs *Patrick Adam*, *Samuel Johnston*, and *Walrond Fearon*, Commissioners, to audit, adjust and report certain Accounts, depending between the Hon. *Edward Manning*, Esq; and *James Houstoun*, accordingly the foresaid Commissioners met at the House of *Laurence Brodbelt*, in *Kingston*, *December* 7, 1745, in order to proceed to Business; but, at the Request of the said *Manning*, Defendant in this Cause, they adjourned to the 10th of the aforesaid Month, when they met again according to Adjournment at the aforesaid House; when and where appeared one *Alexander Graham*, who said he appeared on behalf of the Defendant, *Manning*,

Manning, who told the Commiſſioners, there could be nothing done, for Mr. *Morſe* was not in Town, and Mr. *Manning* was not ready: Notwithſtanding he very well knew, that there was due Notice legally given to Mr. *Manning*. Then he (the ſaid *Graham*) took up the Commiſſion, that lay upon the Table before the Commiſſioners, and, looking at it, ſaid, *This Commiſſion is not Returnable for this Court*. Then I *(James Houſtoun)* asked him, *Why?—Why*, ſaid he, *it is ſigned in* Auguſt, *and cannot be returnable for the ſame* Auguſt *Court*. Then I *(James Houſtoun)* anſwered, *Don't you ſee that the Chief Juſtice has ſigned it, to be returned for the ſame* Auguſt *Court? Do you deny his Hand Writing?—No*, replied the ſaid *Graham*, *I don't deny his Hand Writing; a Chief Juſtice may ſign any Commiſſion; but no Chief Juſtice has any Power or Authority to ſign a Commiſſion returnable in ſo ſhort a Date as this is*, with the Commiſſion in his Hand; and the Commiſſioners inclined to the ſame Opinion, tho' they knew that there was due and le-

gal

gal Notice of six Days given to the Defendant, *Manning*.

BUT what the Commissioners boggled at was my Assertion, *That* Graham *told them, that the chief Justice had no Power or Authority to sign a Commission returnable in so short a Date:* Horrid Equivocations! when at the same time they acknowledge, that they were of the same Opinion themselves: The Design is plain!

NOW I do again assert upon my Honour, and by all that is sacred and good, (if I have Ears, or any Part of the Sense of Hearing left) the very identical Words were, *No chief Justice can give a Commission returnable in so short a Date as that was.* It is indeed said, *No chief Justice*; but, I hope, our Chief Justice, who was then *in Officio*, was one. I am sure I acknowledged him as such, by punctually obeying his Commands with the greatest Patience and Resignation, which proved at the Risk of my Life, Character,

cter, and Fortune; (too great a Stake to be laid at once:) But if this Commiſſion was legal, and returnable in the limited Time mentioned, why was not due Obedience paid to it? No; they did not refuſe Obedience, but they muſt have a new one, Mr. *Manning* was not ready; *Nor never will*, ſaid I. Was ever ſuch Contradictions *in terminis* heard of? Then I aſked *Graham*, *What was to be done with the old Commiſſion?* He anſwered, *You may wipe your Arſe with it.*

THE Truth of all theſe Facts I do not only aſſert, but will burn at a Stake to vouch it, if need require: And now leave them as my laſt Speech and dying Words, at the Place of my Execution. At the ſame time I declare to you and the whole World, that I had no Intention of Hurt to our *Cuſtos*'s Counſellor, nor his Clerk, Mr. *Graham*, when I ſaid, "That *Graham* argued like a *Wapping*-"Attorney; that I believed, the Argu-"ments he made uſe of were none of "his own, but that they came from his "*Maſter*,

" *Maſter*, only to ſhuffle and chicane the " Court off; and deſired to lay the *Saddle* " *on the right Horſe*, that the *Counſellor* " might have an Opportunity of arguing " the Validity of his *Bill of Exceptions*, " and the Invalidity of this *Commiſſion*, " iſſued by the Honourable Court, *in* " *propriâ Perſonâ*, before the Chief Ju- " ſtice, who ſigned the Commiſſion in " Court, returnable at that very ſame " Court." Wherefore I kept out of my Affidavit the unmannerly Expreſſion of *wipeing my Arſe with it*, leſt it ſhould have done the young Man Hurt, which was the fartheſt from my Intentions.

I SHALL not preſume, Sir, to aſk your, or any of my Friends Favour and Countenance in any Thing that is not ſtrictly conſiſtent with Honour and Honeſty; I have a ſound, tho' open Breaſt, now laid open to two of my greateſt declared Enemies, and indeed to all my Enemies with Daggers in their Hands. But I comfort myſelf with,

Magna

Magna est Veritas, & prævalebit

otherwise Life would be a Burthen to me. I am now aware of all their *Machinations*, and designed *Assassinations*. You have assisted me in my most *oppressive* Distresses here in *Jamaica*; I beg the Continuance of your Favour and Countenance, but no farther than is consistent with strict Honour and Honesty; whenever I swerve from that, I deserve to perish like one taken up by the *Tribunal* of *Inquisition*. In the mean time give me leave to assure you, that I retain a grateful Sense of all your Favours, as you have always behaved to me like a Gentleman, a Friend, and a Lawyer; and nothing shall give me more Pleasure, than an Opportunity of gratefully and thankfully acknowledging the Obligations done to,

SIR,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

During my Interdictment, in the Month of January, 1745-6.

P. S.

P. S. I have not as yet been allowed, notwithstanding my frequent Importunities, to see the Depositions against me; this, methinks, is something like the *Tribunal* of *Inquisition*,

- *Punish first, and know your Crime afterwards.*

If ever I should be able to see them I'll trouble you, Sir, with my Observations and Considerations on them, as the most remarkable Passage that ever happened to me in the whole Course of my Life, and I am sure the least deserved: But I never could see them; they absolutely and positively refused me a Copy of the Proceedings, nay, they would not so much as allow me a Sight of them, which never was practised in any Court of Judicature in the known World, except the *Tribunal* of *Inquisition*.

NUMB. VII. Page 325.

For JOHN BURKE, *Esq*; *Counsellor at Law.*

SIR,

THERE'S a Prosecution just now carried on against me, with a Design to ruin me entirely, which they have already done in part; I chuse to stand it for an Opportunity of exculpating myself from any Guilt alledged against me, which I flatter myself in due time will appear to be a false, spiteful, and malicious Prosecution, as I am conscious to myself of my own Innocence of the Crime alledged against me: Though I have never seen the Indictment or Depositions against me, *(Inquisition-like)* but I am fully convinced of my own Actions, that proceed from a sound Heart, and guiltless Conscience. This is an Attempt to assassinate Life, Character, and Fortune at once, which they have accomplished in

in part already: So, Sir, if you are not engaged on the other ſide, and are pleaſed to favour me with your Countenance and Advice, give me Leave to aſſure you, that it ſhall be moſt gratefully acknowledged the firſt Opportunity, by

SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

During my Interdiction, in the Month of February, 1745-6.

FINIS.